National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW ENGLAND

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The New England Anti-Slavery Convention for 1866 met at the Melodeon, in Boston, at 10 o'clock in the morning of May 30th. The meeting was called to order by Rev. J. T. Sargent, President of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, who, after a few introductory remarks, read a letter of greeting addressed to the Convention by Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Lynn. [This admirable letter will be found in another column.]

Mr. Sargent then named the following persons a Committee to nominate officers of the Convention: Stephen S. Foster, Charles Lenox Remond, Caroline R. Putnam, Mary C. Sawyer, Joshua T. Everett.

During the absence of the Committee, Mrs. Foster made an explanation respecting the meeting to be held in the Melodeon the following day, by the "Equal Rights Association," a Society whose purpose is to advocate suffrage as a human right, not to be limited by race or sex.

The Nominating Committee reported the following list of officers:

President—Rev. John T. Sargent.

Vice-Presidents—Charles Lenox Remond, Parker Pillsbury, Caroline M. Severance, Joshua T. Everett, Benjamin Snow, Jr., Asa Fairbanks.

Secretary—Charles K. Whipple.

The vote being taken, these persons were unanimously chosen officers of the Convention.

A Business Committee was then appointed by the Chairman.

Henry C. Wright, then addressed the Convention, urging the necessity of a more thorough conversion of the people, by agencies suited to that purpose, before the nation would do justice to the negro. He had no expectation of thorough action by the present Congress in this direction, and yet the nation could not be saved unless all unjust laws on that subject were swept from the statute book. An active organization is now laboring to keep the negro *from* the ballot, and to admit the defeated rebels *to* the ballot; and this must be met by labors of similar energy on the other side. Mr. Wright highly approved the course of the Woman's Association in changing their name from "Woman's Rights" to "Equal Rights." In relation to the extension of suffrage, he said, there was no State so mean as Connecticut, a State full of revivals, which yet disfranchises the negro, notwithstanding its intelligence. Its iniquity is black as ink and deep as hell. It was of but little use to try and influence Congress; we must convert the people, and thus influence the ballot-box. He stated that a war of bullets can kill slaveholders, but a principle cannot be killed by bullets. Andrew Johnson is but a bubble, and Congress is but a bubble; it is the people we have to do with. He believed that the movement to-day is one of equal rights—the question to-day is for the *negro*, to-morrow it is for *woman*.

The Business Committee here reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That no settlement of national affairs can or ought to be made except on the basis of absolute and impartial justice—that alone can ensure safety and welfare.

Resolved, That the only essential element of reconstruction is suffrage for the negro; and that every other matter is secondary.

Resolved, That the President has on this point wilfully and with full knowledge and ample means to investigate its necessity deliberately betrayed the North; and as his Cabinet, with one or two honorable exceptions, has selfishly sustained him, and Congress has surrendered on this issue, our only hope rests in the people.

Resolved, That Congress should long ago have summoned the loyal people of each rebellious State, without distinction of race or condition, to meet in Convention, adopt new constitutions and elect State and Federal officers, and should everywhere have maintained sufficient military force to protect such new governments.

Resolved, That the law of war and of necessity, as well as all the precedents of our Federal action, sustain this principle; that the war, having revealed the need, has conferred on the nation, represented by the Federal government, the right and imposed the duty of securing to each citizen of the Union all his civil and political rights, both State and Federal; and such education as will fit him to exercise those rights, and of covering him with such protection as will enable him at all times and in all places to exercise them unmolested.

Resolved, That our hope rests on the necessity of justice—on the obvious truth that injustice is not only infamy but ruin; that every dollar is invested in justice to the negro, that to desert him is bankruptcy; that the proposed admission of the rebel States is inevitably repudiation; and that the capital of the country does now or will soon see this; and hence our cause is borne on not only by conscience but by all the social and material forces that rule and mould nations.

Resolved, That our special thanks are due to Mr. Sumner for still adhering to the cardinal principle of negro suffrage.

Resolved, That if Congress admits each rebel State separately whenever it assents to the proposed Constitutional Amendment, its plan is not only total surrender, but worse still, an unworthy trick to mislead the nation.

The President next nominated the following Finance Committee: Nathan B. Spooner, Sallie Holley, Elbridge Sprague, Mary C. Sawyer, R. B. Ober.

These having been chosen, the President invited Hon. George Thompson to address the Convention, a request which was backed by strong and continued applause from the audience. Mr. Thompson said that though his presence indicated the warm interest that he took in the meeting, and the cause, and though he hoped to be able to speak before the close of the Convention, debility must be his excuse for declining to make an address at this time.

Wendell Phillips then addressed the meeting. He began by saying that this Convention represented the anti-slavery element of the nation. When its object was accomplished the work of the Society would be finished. Every large question before the Supreme Court grew out of slavery. The South wanted to carry slavery beyond the Mississippi. Then the question of labor came up—the North, the South and the West had their own kind of labor, between which conflicts arose. We never had a fraternal feeling—not every man could travel at the South. The questions of national debt, of franchisements and disfranchisements, were matters of time. The only question which concerns us as a nation is whether the South will come back into the Union cordially. He had no doubt that Andy Johnson would pursue a different course from his present one, could he be persuaded that it would be a popular one. Johnson believes that no great question can be settled without the consent of the South. He leads the South; he believes in the South; his Cabinet are with him. On the question of the disfranchisement Congress is with him, with the exception of Mr. Sumner.

Mr. Phillips said the new code of Florida re-established slavery, with the exception of the term. The codes of other Southern States did the same. He hoped that if the Republican party submit to this, they would be defeated next Fall. The war of bullets had ended, that of ideas had begun. Mr. Sumner and a few others would yet stand alone. The true anti-slavery men would have the Republicans in opposition to them. The return of the slave States to the Union meant repudiation, commercial bankruptcy, and dislocation.

The course of the North since the establishment of the Constitution was one of cowardice. It was idle to say that it is infamy to desert the negro now that he has helped us. He deprecated the idea of appealing to the selfishness of the South; it had been tried, and failed, and would fail again.

Negro suffrage meant more than mere voting. It meant negroes holding office, going to Congress, and being on an entire social equality. The Southerner knew this. Four hundred thousand colored men voting in South Carolina meant something more than five thousand voting in Massachusetts. It was carrying the last citadel of social life. It was the last lesson of the war.

The speaker said he was with every Abolitionist who faced this last inevitable result. The only security against repudiation was to educate the North up to that idea. The Republicans went to the people concealing their principles, and with their convictions masked. He hoped they would meet such a defeat as would make the Fessendens, the Trumbulls, and the Howards take their places beside the Sumners, the Wades, and the Ingersolls. Congress possessed a right, growing out of the war, to proclaim, without waiting for a Constitutional Amendment, who is a citizen of the United States, and thereby a citizen of a State; to secure to him suffrage, and to see that every one thus having the franchise had a chance of education. He believed that the nation would have done justice to the negro ere this, but for the cowardice of Abraham Lincoln. Now it fell back to-day where it stood in 1861. A nation could not be kept up to a white heat for thirty years.

Mr. Phillips closed by urging his friends to gird up their loins for a war in which there is no muster out, saying that this nation was to learn a great truth, and no one knew by how many blows God would teach it.

Rev. David A. Wasson was announced as the next speaker. He said that the people were more in fault than Congress or the President. The people of the North have only decidedly to announce their wishes in regard to this question, and Congress would hasten to obey them. The problem is, what is to be done with the Southern people; to restore the Southern States in accordance with true republican principles is the only difficulty. The present disqualification of the Southern people is disloyalty—not disloyalty past, but present; an existing determination on the part of Southern whites to ignore the principles of republican government. The negro need not be mentioned in this contest from the moment when the people consent to erase the words "black" and "white" from our statute-books. Lee and Wise are not to be kept out because they have been, but because they *are* traitors.

Mr. Wasson proceeded to speak of the folly of trusting to the oaths of convicted oath-breakers. The word of a perjurer is not to be taken as the word of an honorable man. When they hold out their hands frankly to the loyalists of the South, black and white, and take their places on the ground of equality with them, there is a position where our trust may properly begin; and not till then. But they still insist upon their old custom of spelling negro with two g's.

Mr. Wasson proceeded to comment on the pretences of President Johnson about the danger of a war of races, and the current of Presidential favor now openly shown to secessionists and withdrawn from loyalists; and he showed in forcible terms the monstrousness of those positions. He then touched upon the attitude lately taken by Congress, showing that the Northern majority is not disposed to do its whole duty, in spite of the inspiring character of its stand taken against the President in the enactment of the Civil Rights bill. Still, he said, Congress is but a vane to show how the wind blows. When the people resolutely demand more vigorous action, they will obtain it.

Henry C. Wright then spoke of the vital relation of the negro to the republic. As surely as the negro is denied the ballot, so surely will our course tend towards repudiation. Our currency, our government, our religion can prosper on no other basis than full justice to the colored people.

The meeting here adjourned to half-past two o'clock.

Afternoon Session.—The Convention having been called to order according to adjournment, on motion, the President read again the series of resolutions offered by the Business Committee.

Stephen S. Foster of Worcester then spoke. He spoke of the present meeting as a funeral, called together by the burial of the favorable hopes that had been entertained in regard to the speedy triumph of liberty. He himself had never shared those hopes. The decisive test of this matter was that the negro's rights had never been acknowledged or conceded. Mr. Foster spoke of the failure of President Lincoln (as of our present Congress) to grant these just and reasonable claims, but he thought that their deficiency arose mainly from the disregard of the people at large of the claims of equal freedom for all.

The chief thing necessary is to convince the people of the need of impartial justice. The Freedmen's Bureau bill and the Civil Rights bill are but cheats. It is not possible for the North to protect the negro. All we can do is to give him power to protect himself. Our ingratitude in neglecting to do this stamps this nation as unequalled in infamy. Our first work should be to repent of this sin in dust and ashes. Mr. Foster proceeded to describe the fatal effects of the compromising spirit by which our national policy has been directed. The Republican party needs to be warned of the danger, if the negro be not speedily enfranchised, of a bloodier war than that through which we have passed; and fresh testimony needs to be borne against the unfaithfulness of the church. If the clergy and the churches would only demand it, the black citizens of this country might immediately have the suffrage. There is urgent need for the whole people to work. And active work was never more demanded than now.

Charles Lenox Remond, who, as one of the Vice-Presidents, occupied the chair, in the absence of Mr. Sargent, next introduced to the audience Parker Pillsbury.

Mr. Pillsbury thought the Abolitionists had not, even yet, understood the full importance of their mission. This very Convention was discontinued in one year of the war. The active course of testimony to anti-slavery truth was diminished instead of increased. The Abolitionists themselves are largely accountable for the present apathy of the people. What the people now need is knowledge, education. They are not behind Congress in zeal, but would welcome more thorough action at the Capitol, if our legislators would venture it. The negro is our test. He is that *most* destitute, *most* oppressed person, for whom our sympathy and help are especially commanded. His claim is to be maintained alike for civil, and political, and social equality. The mission of this association grows more sublimely important with every hour. The nation is seeking restoration on principles utterly unrighteous, and if these are not discarded further chastisements from God must follow.

It was here announced by Mr. Remond that the Finance Committee would again pass round among the audience, and Mr. Pillsbury went on to speak of the need of liberal contribution of funds, that the old agencies of anti-slavery reform might again be set in motion.

Mrs. Ellen Watkins Harper was the next speaker. Her hope, she said, was neither in the President nor in Congress. The conscience of the people needs to be aroused. They merely *see* slavery. The colored people feel it. Mrs. Harper gave a most impressive description of the shameful attitude of the nation to those negroes who saved it from the arms of the rebellion. She wished that Gen. Butler might have charge of the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, a wish to which the audience gave a hearty response. In spite of prejudice, delays and difficulties, however, she expected the triumph of justice for the colored race, and urged incessant and increasing efforts for its attainment. She asked for the persecuted race only a fair chance and an open field, and then the matter of social equality will take care of itself. Our present duty is to arouse the popular conscience to *demand* of Congress the immediate performance of its duty. Great applause followed the address of Mrs. Harper.

Charles C. Burleigh of Florence then took the floor, and spoke of the sacredness of simple manhood as the foundation principle of government.

We are not yet ready to acknowledge this sacredness of manhood. We are reenacting the policy of Pharaoh, and history will by and by complete the parallel. To-day's papers show us that Congress is now ready to take off the disfranchisement of the rebels without enacting the enfranchisement of the black loyalists. Where is our assurance that these rebels will use power better than before? What is the fruit of the four years' war? The true problem is simple enough, demanding that the suffrage should be given to every loyal resident of the South.

[Notice was here given that Miss Sallie Holley would pass among the audience, asking their subscriptions to the Anti-Slavery Standard.]

Mr. Burleigh proceeded to speak of the guilt and disgrace of such compromise of principle as the dominant party in Congress and in the nation is now practising. We ought to make such an atmosphere, both here and in Washington, as compromise could not breathe in. We are pleading for the rights of the people; but the people of South Carolina are the loyal three-fifths, far rather than the disloyal two-fifths, both in law and common sense.

Mr. Phillips, on the part of the Business Committee, read two additional resolutions, as follows:

Resolved, That the people of the State of Connecticut in their action upon the Franchise question last Fall, in denying to their colored fellow-citizens, by a majority of over 6,000, the right of equal suffrage, have infamously disgraced their own State, and, as far as in their power, dishonored the New England sisterhood of States; and added a fresh testimony to Connecticut's implication with, and subserviency to the slaveholding power: and we urge upon all true anti-slavery men and women to aid and strengthen the effort now being renewed in the Connecticut Legislature to restore to these our colored fellow-citizens the rights so justly their due.

Resolved, That the silence and growing indifference of the church toward the claims of the negro, as the only path of safety to the nation, is only a new proof of the continued complicity of the church with the slaveholding elements of the land.

Stephen S. Foster then read a resolution which he wished individually to offer, as follows:

Resolved, That, deeply sympathizing with our colored fellow-citizens in the outrages to which they are now subject at the hands of Southern rebels, through the complicity or indifference of the government, we warn their oppressors that the day is not distant when passive submission will cease to be a virtue, and duty and honor will alike require them, in imitation of our Revolutionary Fathers, to assume the defense of their own rights, and appeal for their justification to the intelligence and humanity of the civilized world.

A motion by Mr. Phillips that the last resolution be laid on the table was negatived by a small vote.

Mr. Foster, on request, then read his resolution again, and spoke a few words in explanation and defence of it.

Mr. Coffin said that from experience in South Carolina he thought that resolution ought to pass. He felt sure that some such expression of opinion from the North was expected and needed by the loyalists of the South.

Charles Lenox Remond thought the resolution should be laid on the table, because the blacks of the South can judge better than we what is their right course to take, and when to take it.

Mr. Foster said in explanation that no advice is given in the resolution to the colored people of the South; but simply a warning to the masters. He thought the negroes should far rather resist a government that outraged them than fight for it.

Mr. Norton thought the resolution in conflict with the non-combatant policy which the Abolitionists have heretofore pursued. He read it again, and opposed its passage.

Mr. Phillips agreed with the last speaker in thinking that the resolution in question was more than a warning, and that the advice to the blacks which it substantially gave would do harm rather than good. Abolitionists should not counsel armed resistance until they go to take share in it. The negroes, hitherto, have acted with wonderful wisdom in this matter. They can judge better than we when to take an attitude which will bring new dangers upon them, their families and their race.

Mr. Foster spoke further in defence of the resolution, and Mr. Phillips in reply to him. He thought the act of advising to violent resistance involved a serious responsibility. Each person must decide such a question for himself.

Mr. Van Dorn of Quincy, Illinois, wished, before the resolution went to vote, to enter his protest against it. He had advised many colored people to take up arms in the late war. Where he lived there are many copperheads, and much persecution of the colored people. That disloyal class would find a resolution like this a weapon in their hands for the next political campaign, and he did not wish to indulge them with it.

Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster said that Abolitionists had abundantly shown their readiness to share the dangers of the contest for liberty. She liked the resolution, because its tendency was to startle and arouse the nation, and this was the influence now most needed.

The question being then taken, the resolution was laid on the table.

Adjourned to 7½ p. m.

Evening Session.—The President of the Convention, on taking the chair, read an extract of a letter from Rev. Samuel J. May of Syracuse, and then introduced to the audience Henry C. Wright.

Mr. Wright spoke of negro suffrage as the test question of the nation. The ballot, the symbol of democratic sovereignty, must be put into the black man's hand. He proceeded to speak of the immense educating force of free suffrage in the hands of the whole body of citizens, and said that giving the franchise to the negro would greatly help the laboring class in England.

Rev. George H. Hepworth said that this nation never saw a greater necessity than the present for calm deliberation and sober thought. He was, however, not despondent, but hopeful. The national flag will yet mean liberty.

Mr. Hepworth sketched the political movements which followed secession, tending towards liberty, but pointed out that what has been done will be entirely unavailing unless further steps be taken in the same direction. Washington to-day, he said, is in the hands of the rebels, and a cordon of rebel soldiers has surrounded the White House and taken its inmate captive, body and soul.

There is, said Mr. Hepworth, but one more step to be taken, namely, to wipe out from our hearts and our statute-book the word "white," and judge him a man who does works becoming a man. He proceeded to speak of the impossibility of regulating social equality by legislation. All that is necessary is to give every individual a fair chance, and not obstruct his becoming all that he can be.

Mr. Hepworth described the conservative influence of just measures of reform, and said that we are recreant to the principles our fathers taught unless we carry out their ideas to their legitimate results. He wished that a public opinion might be formed which should stimulate Congress to more thorough action. He demanded for the negro the right to vote, the right to be a man. The civil rights bill does not amount to protection. Without further provisions it is worthless.

Loud calls were here made for Mr. Thompson, who had entered during the remarks of the last speaker.

Hon. George Thompson said he had come upon the platform only to find a seat; but would say that he took an interest in the proceedings of this meeting not less than any he had ever attended in any country. He welcomed every effort to place this nation in a right position, to remove her from the tyrannical attitude in which she still stands. The devil slavery is not yet exorcised. You have not yet purged out the old leaven. You can sacrifice countless lives, and yet leave the seeds of destruction behind to continue their fatal work. Until 1860, your whole national legislation was adverse to the rights and interests of the negro race. Mr. Thompson corroborated the testimony of Mr. Wright, that the suffrage given to our black population would do immense service to the cause of reform in England. What he wished to see established was the right of every American to be enfranchised.

Mr. Thompson closed with a fervent and highly eloquent appeal that the rights of the negro should be given them.

Miss Anna E. Dickinson, who had lately come upon the platform, was then introduced to the audience amidst fervent applause. She charged President Johnson with betrayal of trust, and charged the party which elected him, as equally guilty while it upheld his malefactions.

My friends, said Miss Dickinson, we are all to blame. Even now, no movement is made to hurl this traitor from the position he disgraces. I stand amazed at the apathy of this people. Great public demonstrations, speaking in a voice of thunder, should rebuke the treachery of which this President is guilty. The war is not yet ended. If the policy now in vogue should succeed, the lives and treasure sacrificed in the war will have been given in vain. Now or never is our time. Now or never must the work of this crisis be done.

The people of the North seem more than half asleep. And yet Congress is looking for this same people to speak, and urge its performance of the duty of the hour.

The vote being taken on the resolutions, they were passed without dissent.

Loud calls being made for Wendell Phillips, he came forward and said:

Defeat is less dangerous than success on a wrong platform. I believe that the defeat of the Republican party will now be better than its success.

Mr. Phillips read an additional resolution, urging Abolitionists to withhold their support from the Republican party.

To this Mr. Burleigh desired to have added—Unless the Republican party shall reject the Congressional plan.

Mr. Phillips continued—We must have a line drawn between Northern and Southern civilization. If the Republicans can be defeated, the North will unite for liberty. I pray therefore that they *may* be defeated. Let that party be broken that sacrifices principle to preserve its own existence. The Republicans are occupied chiefly in keeping up their own organization. If our politics do not raise the negro, they will crush the republic. His race brought help and deliverance to the nation. The destiny of the nation depends on the return she makes from this benefit.

Charles Lenox Remond said: I rise to second the motion, for the adoption of this resolution. I hold this to be one of the brightest days in the history of my race. My friend Mr. Wright struck the true key-note this morning, and it has been well followed up.

Mr. Thompson and others opposed the passage of the resolution, and, the hour being too late for further discussion, the mover withdrew it.

The Convention then adjourned, *sine die*, having had good audiences and highly interesting proceedings at each session.

Charles K. Whipple, Secretary.

GERRIT SMITH ON THE TRIAL OF DAVIS.

Mr. Gerrit Smith has addressed a letter to Mr. Chief-Justice Chase, urging that there exists no Constitutional right to try Jefferson Davis for treason. He says: "Your Court administers the Constitution—not the law of war. But neither Jefferson Davis nor any of his fellow-revolutionists are under the Constitution; nor have they been, since the contest they embarked in became a civil war. They are under the law of war—under the law of the conqueror—as exclusively as would be Mexico, were it she, instead of the South, that we have conquered. In saying *exclusively*, I do not forget that our governmental action is to the contrary. But this hybrid action—this weak and cowardly vacillation between the Constitution and the law of war—this dealing with the South, now under the one and now under the other—proves nothing but its own absurdity. The South, if peace between her and the North is restored, is again under the Constitution. If it is not restored (and her non-representation in Congress and our troops in the midst of her are among the things which prove it is not), then is she still under the law of war. Under this law let her be punished for her violations of this law—be it for starving our prisoners, for assassinating our President, or for slaughtering on the battle-field our surrendered prisoners. Under this law, if they participated in any of these crimes, let even her Davises and Stephenses and Lees be tried; and, I add, that for no offense whatever, should they be tried by any other than a military court." The South is a conquered nation according to public law, and was so treated by the government during the war. A civil war is one thing; an act of treason, cognizable by the courts, another. To try Davis for treason after four years of war, would be to call in question our victory, to outrage humanity, to violate the spirit of the Constitution, to alienate or to sadden our friends all over the world, and to sacrifice that hope of a restored Union which rests on impartial justice to all men.

Selections.

SOUTHERN CODES FOR FREEDMEN.

From a statement of the laws and provisions of the reconstructed States, regarding the freedmen, called for by Congress, April 27, and recently sent to that body, we condense some of the most important facts.

THE SOUTH CAROLINA APPRENTICESHIP CODE.

In the negro code of the Palmetto State, while "the statutes and regulations concerning slaves are now inapplicable to persons of color," yet it is thought necessary to declare that such persons are inadmissable to "social or political equality with white persons." They are privileged to make contracts, to sue and be sued, and to be protected under law in person and property. But an act to amend the criminal law, passed and approved December 19, declares in the first section that certain crimes specified shall be declared *felony* (which of late was punishable with death), viz.: for any person to raise an insurrection or rebellion in this State; for any person to furnish arms or ammunition to other persons *who are in a state of actual insurrection or rebellion*, or permit them to resort to his house for advancement of their evil purpose; * * * for any person who had been transported under sentence, to return to this State within the period of prohibition contained in the sentence; or for a person to steal a horse or a mule, or cotton packed in a bale ready for market. Another section forbids farm laborers to sell produce of any kind without written leave from the "master;" and the punishment is for the buyer, $500 or imprisonment; for the seller, a lighter fine, $5, or twice the value of the products; "and if that be not *immediately* paid, he shall suffer corporeal punishment."

The section devoted to corporeal punishment is well calculated to make flogging the rule and fining the exception. It forbids colored persons, under penalty of fine or flogging, to keep fire-arms or weapons of any kind; to keep a distillery, or to sell liquor; to come into the State from another State, unless he gets two freeholders to be his security for good behavior in a bond of $1,000. Section 30 provides that upon view of a misdemeanor committed by a person of color, *any person present may arrest the offender* and take him before a magistrate, to be dealt with as the case may require. In case of a misdemeanor committed by a white person toward a person of color, any person may *complain to a magistrate*.

Section 29 of the District Court act provides that indictment against a white person for the *homicide* of a person of color shall be tried in the Superior Court of law, and so shall other indictments in which a white person is accused of a capital felony in the same regard. Not so, however, with "persons of color." The accused, in a colored criminal case, and the parties in every such civil case, may be witnesses, and so may every other person who is a competent witness; and in every such case, either party may offer testimony as to his own character, or that of his adversary, or of the prosecutor, or of the third person mentioned in an indictment;" and Section 35 secures to persons of color the same rights as to whites, in regard to the distribution of property by will.

The act to regulate the "domestic relations of persons of color" is worthy of attention. "Colored children between the ages mentioned, who have neither father nor mother living in the district in which they are found, or whose parents are paupers, or unable to afford to them maintenance, or *whose parents are not teaching them habits of industry and honesty*, or are persons of notoriously bad character, or are vagrants, or have been, either of them, convicted of an infamous offence, may be bound as apprentices by the district judge, or one of the magistrates, for the aforesaid term." Section 22 of this law provides that the apprentice shall be well treated in certain useful respects, "and if there be a school within a convenient distance in which colored children are taught, shall send him to school at least six weeks in every year of his apprenticeship, after he shall be of the age of ten years, provided *that the teacher of such school shall have the license of the district judge to establish the same.*"

Section 29 provides that a mechanic, artisan or shopkeeper, or other person, who is required to have a license, shall not receive any colored apprentice without having first obtained such license.

Section 35 provides that all persons of color who make contracts for service or labor shall be known as *servants*, and those with whom they contract shall be known as *masters*.

Section 39 provides that a person of color, who has no parent living in the district, and is ten years of age, and is not an apprentice, may make a valid contract for labor or service for one year or less.

Section 60 provides that upon the conviction of any master of larceny or felony, the district judge shall have the right, upon the demand of any white freeholder, to annul the contract between such convict and his colored servants. *If any white freeholder shall complain to the district judge that any master so manages and controls his colored servants as to make them a nuisance to the neighborhood, the judge shall order an issue to be made up and tried before a jury*, and if such issue is found in favor of the complainant, the district judge shall annul the contract between such master and his colored servant or servants. It would appear that this act is obliquely directed at the innovating Yankees.

More wonderfully made is the following section, which prescribes that no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper, or any other trade, employment, or business (beside that of husbandry, or that of a servant under a contract for service or labor), on his own account and for his own benefit, or any partnership with a white person, or as agent or servant of any person, until he shall have *obtained a license* thereof from the Judge of the District Court, which license shall be good for one year only. This license the judge may grant upon petition of the applicant, and upon being satisfied of his skill and fitness, and of his good moral character, and upon payment by the applicant to the Clerk of the District Court of *one hundred dollars, if a shopkeeper or peddler*, to be paid annually, and $10 if a mechanic, artisan, or to engage in any other trade, also to be paid annually: Provided, however, that upon complaint being made and proved to the District Judge of an abuse of such license, he shall revoke the same: And provided, also, That *on person of color shall practice any mechanical art or trade* unless he shows that he has served an apprenticeship in such trade or art, or is now practicing such trade or art.

GEORGIA, ALABAMA AND TEXAS.

The laws of Georgia make the average provisions in vogue as to the right of freedmen to contract, sue, and be sued; to testify and inherit; purchase, lease, and otherwise dispose of their property, and to have full and equal benefit of laws accordingly, without being subject to other deprivations or punishments than white persons. These are contained in the Act of March 17. An Act of Dec. 15 declares free persons of color shall be competent witnesses in all the courts of this State, in civil cases, whereto a free person of color is a party, and in all criminal cases wherein a free person of color is defendant, or wherein the offence charged is a crime or misdemeanor against the person or property of a free person of color.

The law of Alabama declares that freedmen shall be competent to testify only in open court, and only in cases in which freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are parties, either plaintiff or defendant, and in civil and criminal cases, for injuries in the persons and property of freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, and in all cases, civil or criminal, in which a freedman, free negro or mulatto is a witness against a white person, or a white person against a freedman, free negro or mulatto, the parties shall be competent witnesses, and neither interest in the question or suit, nor marriage, shall disqualify any witness from testifying in open court.

Section 2 of a law of Texas, passed April 2, states that "Africans and their descendants shall not be prohibited, on account of their color or race, from testifying, orally, as witnesses in any case, civil or criminal, involving the right of, injury to, crime against, any of them in person or property, under the same rules of evidence that may be applicable to the white race; the credibility of their testimony to be determined by the court or jury hearing the same; and the Legislature shall have power to authorize them to testify as witnesses in all other cases, under such regulations as may be prescribed as to facts hereafter occurring."

FLORIDA PILLORY LAWS.

The law of Florida affecting negro testimony is much the same as the foregoing. But an act of the 15th of January provides in the twelfth section that it shall not be lawful for any negro, mulatto or other person of color to own, use or keep in his possession or under his control any bowie-knife, dirk, sword, fire-arms or ammunition of any kind, unless he first obtain a license to do so from the Judge of Probate of the county in which he may be a resident for the time being; and the said Judge of Probate is hereby authorized to issue such license upon the recommendation of two respectable citizens of the county certifying to the peaceful and orderly character of the applicant; and any negro, mulatto or other person of color so offending shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall forfeit to the use of the informer all such fire-arms and ammunition, and in addition thereto shall be sentenced to *stand in the pillory for one hour, or to be whipped*, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or both, at the discretion of the jury.

Section 14 provides that if any negro, mulatto, or other person of color, shall intrude himself into any religious or other public assembly of white persons, or into any railroad or car or other public vehicle set apart for the exclusive accommodation of white people, he shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, shall be sentenced to *stand in the pillory for one hour, or be whipped*, not exceeding thirty-nine stripes, or both, at the discretion of the jury; nor shall it be lawful for any white person to intrude himself into any religious or other public assembly of colored persons, or into any railroad car or other public vehicle, set apart for the exclusive accommodation of persons of color, under the same penalties.

An act of January 16 forbids the depositions of colored persons to be taken in writing.

An act of January 16, "concerning schools for freedmen," appoints a State Superintendent of common schools for freedmen, who, with his local assistants, shall establish schools for freedmen when the number of children of persons of color in any county or counties will warrant the same, provided the funds hereinafter provided for shall be sufficient to meet the expenses thereof. It also lays a light tax upon the freedmen to support the schools. The last section declares "that *if any person shall teach any school of persons of color in this State without first having obtained the license or certificate heretofore provided for, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be fined not less than one hundred dollars nor more than five hundred dollars*, or be imprisoned not less than thirty days nor more than sixty days, at the discretion of the court.

MISSISSIPPI FUGITIVE FREEDMEN ACT.

Mississippi gives us, perhaps, the most interesting chapter of legislative science on the subject of freedmen. The act of Nov. 24, 1865, opens briskly: "All freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of 18 years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together, either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freedwoman, free negro or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof shall be fined in the sum of not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, $50, and a white man $200, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days and the white man not exceeding six months." Said negro may be hired out on failure to pay fine or tax.

In section 1 of an act of Nov. 23, it is provided that all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may sue, and be sued, implead, and be impleaded, in all the courts of law and equity of this State, and may acquire personal property and choses in action by descent or purchase, and may dispose of the same in the same manner and to the same extent that white persons may; provided, that the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free negro or mulatto, to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns or cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.

Section 4 provides that in addition to cases in which freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are now, by law, competent witnesses, freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes shall be competent in civil cases, when a party or parties to the suit, either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants; also in cases where freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, and a white person or white persons is or are the opposing party or parties, plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants. They shall also be competent witnesses in all criminal prosecutions where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by a white person upon or against the person or property of a freedman, free negro or mulatto; provided, that in all cases said witnesses shall be examined in open court on the stand, except, however, they may be examined before the grand jury, and shall in all cases be subject to the rules and tests of the common law as to competency and credibility.

Section 5 provides that every freedman, free negro and mulatto shall, on the second Monday of January, 1866, and annually thereafter, *have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof, as follows*, to wit: If living in any incorporated city, town or village, a license from the Mayor thereof, and if living outside of any incorporated city, town or village, from the member of the Board of Police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work, or a written contract, as provided in section 6 of this act; which licenses may be revoked for cause at any time by the authority granting the same.

Section 7 provides that every civil officer shall and *every person may* arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro or mulatto who shall have quit the service of his or her employer before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause; and said *officer and person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employé aforesaid the sum of five dollars*, and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, and the same shall be paid by the employer and held as a set-off for so much against the wages of said deserting employé; provided, that said arrested party, after being so returned, may appeal to a justice of the peace or member of the board of police of the county, who, on notice to the alleged employer, shall try, summarily, whether said appellant is legally employed by the alleged employer, and has good cause to quit said employer; either party shall have the right of appeal to the county court, *pending which the alleged deserter shall be remanded to the alleged employer*, or otherwise disposed of, as shall be right and just; and the decision of the county court shall be final.

Section 10 provides that it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to charge any white person, freedman, freed negro or mulatto, by affidavit, with any criminal offense against his or her person or property, and upon such affidavit

the proper process shall be issued and executed as if the said affidavit was made by a white person; and it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto, in any action, suit or controversy, pending or about to be instituted in any Court of law or equity of this State, to make all needful and lawful affidavits as shall be necessary for the institution, prosecution or defense of such suit.

Colored youths may be apprenticed much after the manner of the South Carolina code, according to another act. The County Court must be fully satisfied that the person or persons to whom the minor shall be apprenticed is a suitable guardian, etc., from whom said court shall exact bond and security. The apprentices shall be taught to read and write, and the master is required to conform to any law that may be hereafter passed regulating the duties and relations of master and apprentice.

ELEGANT EXTRACTS FROM REBEL LAWS.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

A RESOLUTION has lately been passed by the House, which contemplates the publication of the laws passed by the reconstructed Legislatures of the rebel States. We forget the precise shape which the matter took; but we trust an effort will be made in Congress to get these codes before the people, and especially that a digest may be made of the statutes affecting the freedmen. Parts of these have already been given to the public in this journal; but the whole ought to be presented in a concise, readable, and authoritative form, that the facts in regard to the scheme of reconstruction may be known. From what we have thus far seen, we believe this legislation is of a character so vindictive, so regardless of all the rights of the freedmen, and so utterly contemptuous of the spirit of the anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution, that it will abundantly demonstrate the unfitness of the rebel States for immediate readmission.

A friend has sent us the laws of Florida passed by her Legislature at its session begun Dec. 18, 1865, comprised in a pamphlet of one hundred and fifty-six pages, and published under direction of the Attorney-General. They will repay an attentive examination. We should be content to take the opinion of the most conservative lawyer in New York on their legal merits; for we do not believe a respectable lawyer can be found who would be willing to approve a code so infamous as this. Let us begin by stating a few of its general characteristics; bearing in mind always that the negroes, by emancipation and by the amendment, were relieved from all the disabilities incident to a state of slavery, and became entitled to equal civil rights with the whites.

I. The negroes, mulattoes, and all colored men, are disfranchised, not allowed to vote, hold office, or sit on juries, even where their own interests are involved.

II. They are subjected to a triple taxation. They are taxed, *first*, for all purposes for which the whites are taxed, and to the same extent. *Secondly*, they are taxed to support their own schools and school system, including the salaries of State and county superintendents, while they are not allowed a cent from the school fund arising out of the lands given to the State by the United States for that purpose, nor is a cent raised by taxing the property of the State for their benefit. *Thirdly*, the children of aged and infirm negroes who have been worn out in the service of their old masters, are compelled to support their parents. Although support in their old age is an honest debt which their former masters owe them, these chivalrous gentlemen have repudiated the debt, and by these laws throw it upon their poor and illegitimate offspring.

III. The Florida Legislature has put the colored people entirely at the mercy of the whites, by disarming them and arming the whites.

IV. These laws establish a system of slavery more odious and oppressive than the old system. They prescribe for every trifling offense the pillory and the lash. To evade the constitutional amendment which prohibits slavery or involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime, they have enlarged the catalogue of crimes. These Florida rebels have placed it in their own power to force the negroes into vagrancy, and they have made vagrancy a crime for which the freedman may be sold into servitude for a year at a time. By these laws, the mere being out of employment is a vagrancy, although the poor man may be willing and anxious to work, could he but find employment. The negroes just freed from slavery are of course poor and destitute. They have no lands, no houses, no teams or tools, or other means of setting themselves to work. If their former masters, who own all the lands, will not employ them, they are, of course, forced into vagrancy. If they are unable to pay a fine or forfeiture for any offense, no matter how trifling, they may be sold at auction to whoever will take them for the shortest time, and pay fine and costs. These sales, moreover, are cumulative; that is, a man may be sold under several different charges at the same time, and the period of his servitude may reach twenty years, or more. We are assured that, in the interior of that State, one negro has recently been sold for four years, and others for a less time. And a sale even for that period may be practically a sale for life. Suppose Florida readmitted in her present state, and all check upon her legislation removed, all restraint upon her vindictive passions taken off—what chance will a negro, once sold, have to regain his freedom, or control of himself? "If the present authorities," says a thoroughly well-informed correspondent, "feel that they are to have the power and full swing to carry out the law as it now stands, I do not believe it would be two years before half the negroes in Florida would be sold into this kind of slavery." All that restrains the re-establishment of the old system is the doubt whether the policy of the President will prevail. If it should, woe to the negro at the South!

Nor is vagrancy the only crime which makes a basis for a slave system. If a colored man violates his contract, he may be punished as for vagrancy—that is, may be sold into slavery. What is "violating a contract?" Well, for one thing, "wanton impudence" is; and the planter or his white neighbor or crony are to be judges whether the negro has been impudent or not. "Disrespect to the employer or his agent" is another crime punishable by slavery. "Failure to perform the work assigned to him" is a third cause for which the negro may be sold on the auction-block and scarred by the lash; no matter whether such failure may proceed from illness, or from the extortionate demand of his employer, or from any other circumstance. In either case, he may be sentenced to labor for twelve months, or to imprisonment for the same period, or by whipping or the pillory, or both, at the discretion of the jury. The number of offenses to which the latter punishments are made applicable is frightful, and sufficiently shows the determination of the Florida planters not to surrender the lash as a means of controlling the blacks. Formerly the planter flogged his slave whenever he chose, as a matter of course, and public opinion sustained him. Now, he has not only a revengeful and malicious public opinion, but the express enactment of the statute-book. As the law now stands, the negro suffers stripes, the jail, and slavery, for simple breach of a contract; while the master, who is the other party to that contract is merely liable, as in other cases, to damages, to be recovered by the negro in a suit at common law, wherein the judge, the jury, the lawyers, and all but the miserable black plaintiff himself, will be whites. And this is only a taste of the beauties of Florida law as it stands to-day—of a law which rules a State that Andrew Johnson says ought to be forthwith admitted into Congress to help to make laws for the rest of the Union!

A French workman has just completed, for the Duke of Wellington, a watch of novel and peculiar construction, the idea of which was conceived by the Duke himself, who is of an impatient temper, and cannot pass half an hour in any one's society without feeling an irresistible inclination to look at his watch. To indulge himself would be rude, and the Duke has hit upon an ingenious plan to ascertain the hour without any one present being the wiser for it. The watch manufactured for him is a silent repeater. It is provided with a spring, upon touching which, a small hammer issues from the case and strikes the hour in the palm of the person's hand who holds it. The Duke will merely need to slip his hand carelessly into his pocket, touch the spring, and he is immediately informed of the time of day.

A Maine genius has taken out a patent for an invention in which bachelors will take a peculiar interest. Its use is to attach buttons to any part of wearing apparel without the use of thread. The invention consists solely in making the button with a spiral wire to be inserted into the cloth like a cork-screw, and then pressed down flat so as to form a ring to hold the button in place.

The Richmond *Times* "ventures the prediction that when that heroic and unfortunate martyr, Jefferson Davis, is brought to this city for trial, fifty thousand tearful and pitying men, women and children will fill the streets through which he passes to his prison, to testify in every way consistent with law and order their esteem, respect, and sympathy for the persecuted statesman."

A curious type-setting match came off at Iowa city last month, Mr. A. J. Kenny, of the Iowa city *Press*, and Mr. O. B. Bell, of the Council Bluff *Nonpareil*, each setting four thousand *ems* solid *bourgeois* in two hours.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1866.

THE HIGHEST DUTY.

[We present with much pleasure as our leading article this week, the following admirable letter from Rev. SAMUEL JOHNSON.]

SALEM, May 28, 1866.

Rev.. JOHN T. SARGENT, President Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society:

MY DEAR SIR: I shall not be at the meeting on Wednesday, but I will not fail to answer your call if it be only that I may thank the Anti-Slavery Society for continuing to stand where it always *has* stood, and where, in an hour like this, all men need that it should be found,—*in the very front of protest!* Never, I think, was silence the crime it is now. If Andrew Johnson's policy prevails, in all human probability we drift round again into the hurricane whose roar is still in our ears. I trust it will *not* prevail, but I know that the American people are not strong enough to flout experience with impunity, nor to reject the idea to which they owe their being.

We have been trying very hard to marry this Union to prosperity by sheer force of might. We were driven from the door of that hope into the outer darkness of civil war. Now we have conquered on the battle-field, and stand again at the door. What a terrible entrance-fee have we thrown down before it! But the hand that barred it before turns its palm outward upon us still,—perhaps sweeps us back into the storm. One thing we have forgotten—the wedding garment of decency and honor.

Every attempt to pass in before the *right* is earned, remands us to the facts of our half-converted state. Last year the pull of a pistol trigger silenced our jubilee in the moment of military triumph. In the moment of legislative victories they are again forbidden. Emancipation is on the flag, bought with best blood; the great amendment has passed; the Civil Rights bill is a law; and yet there, at the head of the State, is the same spirit that ruled it through all those shameless years which brought on the war! There it is still—the old keen scent of the false democrat singling out the Abolitionist as his natural foe; the old threat to silence agitation; the old appeal to the mob against New England principles; the old charges of treason and rebellion against their defenders.

Nor is it grafted, this time, on a Northern stock, a mere *policy* for party ends. It is the genuine Southern mastership, daring to risk everything in the conflict with Northern faith and freedom. Down goes its gauntlet at the feet of Congress with a scorn that, five years ago, would of itself have been victory. It makes a cobweb of all we have done and suffered these grand years, and blows it away at one puff—thus: "Come, now, you know you are conquered. We are to govern our negroes and you with them, as we always have done. You have been *dreaming* these five years. The Southern aristocrat shall lock hands with the Northern democrat again, and is it not the President of your own choosing who forbids that they be kept asunder? Round wheels the Cabinet into the track. Does not even Mr. Stanton find his judgment yielding to the President's conviction about the suffrage question? It is the Sumter gun of a new struggle, if you dare to try it. South Carolina is in Washington, and shall do *within* the Union what she could not do outside of it." See, now, what it means in a republic *to put a man in the wrong place!*

A faithful Vice-President was thrown aside to make way for a Southern "poor white" who had never spoken other than kard words of the great cause and its defenders. Of course it was done because Border State votes seemed more necessary than New England principles. But the votes were not forthcoming, and the principles were avenged. So, the people having chosen him, made the best of him; winked at his plot as an experiment; loyal journals glossed his assumption of the right to reorganize political institutions without consulting the legislative branch of the government, and his play of "fast and loose" with the question whether the South has or has not forfeited the rights of States; party leaders feared to break with the man who was breaking *them* on the wheel; good men felt no need of further protest, and laughed at those who saw clouds ahead. Sumner's brave word could not be "whitewashed" out of sight; it was whiter than all washes; but it was deprecated out of the way by Senators who should have seconded it with a stronger word, could they have found one; and Congress awakes to find the old slave power, in new form, grasping at its throat with one hand—the national treasury in the other—charging it to ask no questions but whether claimants are qualified to take seats—the decision on the right of rebel communities to send *any* claimants taken out of its hands, its sacred functions swamped in a theory of State rights! And, as for us, we are looking to the elections to see if it will be sustained in doing justice to the crisis, minus the political rights of the negro!

What is it all but the old lesson that *must* drive home its stings till we heed them? The responsibility is on the *people*. Presidents are representative. Lincoln represented the love of the Union. This man represents the hate and scorn of the negro. Both sentiments are strong in the people, and the strength of these men is the strength of these two sentiments respectively. The love of the Union promised to become a true wedding garment as the war went on. The hate of the negro never can, let peace pipe ever so jubilantly. It is like that tunic in the Old World legend into which the life of a half-brute half-human seducer had been poured, and whose heat drove the strong demigod to self-destruction.

The modern Hercules is a nation sternly instructed to know evil from good. Yet still it wears that garment of death, and so a new access of the Centaur rage is upon it.

And so Andrew Johnson and his Secretary of State rend the party that stood around Mr. Lincoln through the days of the rebellion. It was not an easy thing to fight disunion. It is a far harder thing to stand for the rights of negroes. The South is stronger in the issues now before us than she was on the plot of Davis and Toombs, and we shall find it so as soon as she is back. Congress has refused to admit the arrogant claim that she is reconstructed already: but it has yielded the right to insist on negro suffrage even for the public safety. And that is the one thing we cannot afford to lose; the one gigantic impracticability of the past which the earthquake came to force a path for. No matter what else we carry against vetoes: if we reconstruct without that it is not ineffable meanness only: it is pure surrender! The moral victory remains with the physically vanquished. We may offer them bribes to grant free institutions; impose penalties for refusing these; but if we concede them the right to disfranchise half their population because of color, we strike at the roots of all that made the Union worth saving, or the war a just cause.

For what must be the moral status of a people which can reward the assassins of its liberties with embraces and punish their defenders with degradation? What shall be said of a free people which thinks that a rebel forgiven on oath is worthier to vote its laws than a negro who needs no oath, and of whom it should itself be asking forgiveness? If it honestly believes that mere color unfits for the suffrage, it is politically imbecile. If it does not greet every opportuninity to break up monopolies of the suffrage out of mere self respect and hail the access of a race to the ballot with an enthusiasm of faith that spurns the question of fitness, it has no root in itself and is preparing for any demoralization at the hands of material interests or official power. This is the test that awaits us. If we do not spring to our feet and shake the unbelief from us as one would shake fire out of his bosom, this coming year will debase us as we have not been debased before! For prosperity hastens to unman us: a spurious magnanimity is already doing that, in pulpit and press. And if a new paroxsym is needed to save manhood, it will come. The negro is not to play second, nor to be mere side issue in this business. We cannot satisfy the hour by turning him over to the Freedmen's Bureau or the Civil Rights bill. These but intensify the injustice which refuses him the genuine sign of citizenship. Whisper his rights in his ear, then leave him to those who will make them void, and we *ensure* that war of races which Andrew Johnson wants to make a spectre at our feasts.

The most dangerous thing that can befal this country is now, it seems to me, the return of the Southern population on any conditions which shall leave open the opportunity of forming a reactionary party on the exclusive right of the white race. And the comfort of the present state of things is that no plan of reconstruction has yet been, or apparently can now be carried through. I am one of those who rejoice that it is so; and this in the name of the Union as well as of justice. The South is not yet fit to be reconstructed: and we are no wise fit to reconstruct her. If the dead lock of forces lasts a little longer, the mingled cheers for Andrew Johnson and Jefferson Davis that are beginning to go up through reviving rebeldom will perhaps rouse the senses of a community on whose ears the groans of a crucified race make little impression. Let us take courage. All through this conflict our delays have been our triumphs. Every crisis is an appeal to the people to recognize moral values. Our watchword has been the Rights of Labor. It is well: and yet here is our "working man" come to strike down the rights of labor in the name of the people itself. We have set ourselves to be vindicators of the dignity of work; and every public officer who could claim its badge was getting a little to admiration; and yet it has come to this that henceforth the worst mischief will be suspected whenever we hear high functionaries setting forth their plebeian origin to the masses. It is not the laboring man *as such* that is to save us, whether wielding the shop scissors or the more dangerous scissors that may snap the life of a State; it is the labor of *character* in rich and poor, in whatsoever race, sex, condition. It is the "one man power;" but in precisely the opposite sense from that which now threatens us. The despotism and the democracy are at opposite extremes; but they meet in the one man power, as a common test. Let the democracy abide that test, and liberty is a success. Let us read our opportunity in the perils which all confess. A President is one will. A Congress is many wills. The first is a force of character, good or evil. The second is a mixture, a balance of forces that neutralize each other. An appeal to the people is to the disadvantage of Congress, because the million wavering wills incline to the strongest motive power. This Presidential vantage will be used to the utmost. We must be prepared for the boldest ventures of power on the strength of it. Here is to-day's lesson in the philosophy of republican duty. The spectators of the old gladiatorial shows decided by turning the thumb up or down whether the conqueror should slay or spare his opponent. One man's thumb now makes the sign, as of mercy to a disabled South; but it is not *that*, it is new life to a defeated and dying conspiracy; and behind that one hand is concentrating a force that is competent to move all hostile elements to turn against just men and just dealing the inertia which carries elections and controls immediate issues. This is the power personality wields in a republic. We never realized it as we do now. What vow becomes every one if not this,—that his private vote and influence shall not again go for other than the purest lives and the noblest aims? Is it not time that the terrors of party drill, the fear of political defeat, the unbelieving motives that scare well-meaning persons into conciliation with overbearing wrong, are made powerless before this higher duty? Shall not the very idea of sacrificing moral power to political availability henceforth vanish at the sound of the words "Remember the Border State policy and Andrew Johnson who came of it?" It is a sad sign when loyal men persistently make the best of the defection of leaders, instead of boldly pointing out the causes thereof, and repudiating it at the outset. Parties *must* go down; but put *men* in Congress, and make Congress *quit* itself like a man. It is still the part of the Abolitionist to enforce the old texts by the new perils. He is still the preacher and prophet of the land; and in no other name than that of his gospel can the land be saved. The moral laws are the judgment-seat of nations. And in every person their majesty is incarnate; in the worst for public retribution, in the best for public service. There is no magic in office to get out of a man anything greater than his own proper quality; no magic but that of bringing it out something on a scale that sweeps the compass of a peoples' fate. Not our political leaders, not our shrewd managers, not our servants sit in cabinets but *our virtues and vices;* and these are yet to teach us that revolutions are no political joke; no juggling game of a Blair family; no ninety days quarrel in the flighty heedlessness of a Seward's brain; no executive "*My Policy*" thrust up against a higher "*My Purpose*" spoken out of the heavens and the earth; but divinely appointed paths to justice that may well clothe our priests with righteousness and our statesmen with fear. The warning comes to every household, to every private conscience. It may come in thunders, but they will clear the path to our peace.

With cordial sympathy,

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

THE STANDARD IN BOSTON.

JOHN J. DYER & Co., No. 35 School street, as our agents in Boston, will hereafter receive and forward subscriptions for THE STANDARD, and supply single copies to such as desire. We invite the attention of our friends in Boston and vicinity to this arrangement, and shall hope through it, with the hearty co-operation of Abolitionists, to extend the circulation and increase the influence and usefulness of THE STANDARD in New England.

THE PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS commence a yearly meeting at Longwood, Pa., this week Thursday, to continue Friday, Saturday and Sunday. The business meetings close on Saturday, and on Sunday there will be general speaking. Among those expected to address the meeting, we learn, will be Theodore Tilton of the *Independent*, Rev. H. P. Crozier, Oliver Johnson, Susan B. Anthony and probably Anna E. Dickinson and Rev. Dr. Furness of Philadelphia.

THE WATERLOO YEARLY MEETING of Friends of Progress was held last week at Junius, near Waterloo, N. Y., and was, we are informed, very numerously attended. Charles D. B. Mills, Frederick Douglass, and Lucy N. Colman were among those who addressed the meeting. Frederick Douglass spoke with great eloquence and power in favor of impartial suffrage. We shall print next week some account of the meeting from a correspondent.

AFFAIRS IN MARYLAND.

SAMUEL TOWNSEND, a highly esteemed minister and well known Friend, of Baltimore, Md., called on us last week, and gave us a painfully interesting account of the present condition of affairs in Maryland. We have since received a letter from him, of which the following is an extract:

"An association of Friends, in aid of Freedmen, was formed in Baltimore about two years ago, and have a house at No 34 North st., where they provide for such Freedmen as are passing through, or as have come to the city to find employment. A superintendent and his wife are employed to take charge of the establishment, and they also have at present under their care ten or twelve orphan children, too small to go to places. As the Freedmen's Bureau does not extend its care over the State of Maryland there has grown up a very serious difficulty, in which the freed people suffer very much, and humanity is shocked. The masters have, in many instances, seized upon the children of their former slaves, and taken them before the Orphan Courts (the Judges of which generally sympathize with the masters), who bind the children to them. Their masters then hire them out frequently to irresponsible persons, who, having no interest in them further than the period for which they are bound, give them no education, and often treat them in a most shameful and cruel manner. Efforts are now making to bring these parties to justice, with the hope that it may be the means of relieving many from a slavery more galling and iniquitous than the old slave system. An appeal was made to Friends of the New York Yearly Meeting recently held at Rutherford Place, who responded by placing six hundred dollars in the hands of the Friends of the Baltimore Association to carry out their proposed legal measures, and to give such relief as they may be able to do in accordance with the laws of the State."

We are glad to learn that Judge Bond, of Baltimore, will earnestly cooperate with these Friends in trying to put an end to the shameful and cruel proceedings of the ex-slaveholders, who still continue to be slaveholders in the name of emancipation. Any of our readers disposed to aid the Baltimore Association in its undertaking, can do so materially by contributing money, which may be transmitted to Samuel Townsend, its President.

A FRIENDLY CRITICISM.

DAVID PETIT, writing from Salem, N. J., 30th of 5th month, 1866, encloses his subscription for THE STANDARD, and adds:

"Permit me here to say, I esteem your journal highly, but cannot see the good to be derived from denouncing Congress, as a body, because some weak-kneed members have not the back-bone to stand up manfully to what is right! It is painful to me to see your journal attempt to so weaken the hands of the radical leading members of Congress at a time when they need encouragement from all lovers of humanity. Your journal charges them with legislating with a view of retaining their places and power. Is there any other earthly power or party that we can look to that is likely to legislate for the interest of the colored people in comparison with the present party in power. If your charge is true, is it best to publish it? Should you not build up as well as pull down? Have not the leading members of Congress done the best they could for the interest of the black man?"

Remarks by the Editor.

We charge Congress, as a body, with having surrendered the vital issue of impartial suffrage in connection with reconstruction. It is not with a few weak-kneed members that the responsibility rests, but with the majority. It has been assumed by Congress, as we have ourselves maintained, that with that body, and not with the President, belonged proper jurisdiction over the whole question of reconstruction. It was for Congress to arrange and decide upon all the conditions for the readmission of the rebellious States, and for the President, in accordance with his constitutional function, to execute the measures adopted by Congress. For a long time Congress did nothing at all toward a plan of its own. That which finally came from the Reconstruction Committee, and which is likely soon to be adopted by both Houses of Congress, is inherently and fatally defective, and we hope may never receive the sanction of the respective States. By it the principle of democratic equality is deliberately sacrificed by men, many, if not most of whom, know better than they are doing. It is the old expedient of compromise adopted by our revolutionary fathers in 1787, and will lead the nation to renewed and increased sacrifices, to a deeper baptism of sorrow.

From the first day of the present session to the present hour, it has been the duty of Congress to begin at the foundation, and to order just that kind of government for the conquered States which the exigencies of the present situation demand. The power which may disfranchise may enfranchise. Conventions might have been, *and should now be at once summoned in the several rebellious States*, recognizing the blacks as a part of the people, fully entitled by their manhood, their loyalty, and their faithful sacrifices to maintain the existence of the government, to a voice in its administration. The present organizations are in no sense either just or legally constituted governments. They are simply the bitter, treasonable fruits of Presidential usurpation, and should be declared by the competent Congressional authority null and void.

If, with properly authorized governments representing blacks and whites, the President should be indisposed to co-operate in the faithful execution of the laws, he can be, as he should have been long ago, impeached.

In saying these things we have no disposition to weaken or to embarrass the truly earnest radical members of Congress. We, too, would encourage and strengthen them, and urge the people whom they represent, to so express themselves in behalf of the principles of justice and equality now in jeopardy, that such men in Congress may not feel impelled to surrender for want of support. But when Mr. Stevens and others assent to measures which surrender these principles, we cannot allow ourselves, or those whom we can influence, to surrender also. If the party now in power is obliged to give place to another less friendly to freedom, it will be because, timid and unfaithful to duty and wasteful of glorious opportunity, it allows itself to be supplanted by bold, bad men. Seeking to save its own life as a party organization, rather than fearlessly to promote the highest good of the nation, it seems very likely to lose it. Having secured victory on the battle-field in an hour of extremity by the timely aid of the black man, if now his interests are to be sacrificed when they might be secured, the party that consents to such infamy and dishonor deserves to be, and will be, itself sacrificed.

MRS. C. A. F. STEBBINS writes us a letter from Washington, from which we extract the following: "The President of these United States has undoubtedly from the first been untrue to the interests of Freedom and to the patriots who have sacrificed in labors and blood for the Republic, as the steps he is taking every day in opposition to the demands of these, and in favor of the boldest rebels show. Charles Sumner is spending his days, and nights too, in the service of the country, at the expense of health and of comfort, for who that is an invalid would not love to be where there is sweet air, and singing birds, in green and pleasant fields? But this is small compared with the load of responsibility and anxiety which burthens the shoulders and weighs on the hearts of these really true men, with whom love of country means sacrifice. Andrew Johnson has deceived for a comparatively short time a portion of the people with smooth words, but his deeds are now palpable as the sun; he is by his influence bringing about the very 'war of races' in the South which he predicted, and for this reason as well as other weighty ones, do I pray that Congress may exert its power to give the negro a right to protect himself."

PERSONAL.

It is reported that Bayard Taylor and George Boker contemplates an overland trip to California this Summer.

It is noted as a coincidence that Mr. Gay leaves the *Tribune* at the time when Mr. Dana, whom he succeeded, leaves the Chicago *Republican*.

Max Maretzek says that he was warned last November of a conspiracy to burn the Academy of Music, and every other theatre in the hands of any member of the Managers' Association, and which "does not advertise in the New York *Herald*."

A very untrustworthy Washington correspondent of a democratic paper says the President has decided to appoint Sherman, instead of Grant, to the new position of General; and that "the radicals are bursting with rage" at the revelation of his intention.

Dr. Solomon Andrews, with three others, made an ascent in his flying ship at New York, Friday afternoon. After remaining an hour in the air they landed at Astoria, five miles distant. They found no difficulty in making headway against the wind. The Doctor has no doubt of his ability to navigate the air.

Gov. Andrew is going to Washington to urge the passage of the Bounty bill by the Senate; having declined an offer to act as Commissioner of Massachusetts with a fee of $2,000. Nodoby will question the disinterestedness of Gov. Andrew's motives, whatever he may do about the Bounty bill, but he might be doing better than to engineer a measure to take $200,000,000 out of the Treasury for the benefit, largely, of claim agents and lobbyists.

SYDNEY HOWARD GAY, during the last four years managing editor of the New York *Tribune*, retired last week from that post, and is succeeded by JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG. Mr. Gay carries with him the cordial good will of all the members of his staff, and will resume his former place on the paper as editorial writer. Mr. Young was for three years managing editor of the Philadelphia *Press*, and for eight or nine months past has been on the *Tribune*. In one capacity or another, he has been connected with the press for nine years. Thoroughly accomplished in all the details of his profession, with broad views of its duties and opportunities, a writer of great originality and force, possessing a rare tact and decision in dealing with men and with the responsibilities that rest on the managing editor of a great journal like the *Tribune;* Mr. Young has every assurance of a brilliant success. He is just a year older than Pitt when he became Prime Minister of England at twenty-four.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, says an English paper is, in the fullest sense of the term, a self-made man. Is is true that his father, Sir John Gladstone, was a very wealthy Liverpool merchant, after having started in life as a journeyman baker in the West Indies; but it was the talents of William Gladstone, the second son, that made him something else than the Oxford-educated son of a mercantile baronet. Mr. Gladstone showed, the other day, at the Agricultural Hall, the effect of wear and tear. His hair, thick and glossy not long since, is now thin and iron-grey. His square figure and pale face gleaming with intellect, speak the hardworking statesman. His intellectual forehead and sparkling black or grey eyes redeem a countenance that is nearly made plain by a coarse nose. His dress is careless, his manner, both in private conversation and in speaking, singularly simple and easy, and altogether unlike his great friend, patron, and master, Sir Robert Peel. A very sweet and clear voice adds to the charm of his easily-flowing sentences. Before a very cold audience, his words and thoughts flowed away easily and delightfully for near an hour. Still, his place is in the House of Commons. The powers of an orator can never be appreciated, except when addressing a sympathizing audience.

LETTER FROM HON. HORACE MAYNARD TO REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

SYRACUSE, June 2, 1866.

To the Editor of the Standard.

DEAR FRIEND: Please publish in your paper next week the following letter from the Hon. Horace Maynard, whose statements and opinions are always entitled to the respectful consideration of his countrymen. I am sorry and ashamed, that I carelessly attributed any good word or deed to Mr. Lincoln, that belongs rather to Mr. Johnson. I have never approved of much of the denunciatory language that has been used respecting our President, although I have partaken largely of the disappointment of those who elected him to office.

I have no wish to screen our loyal States from the condemnation they deserve, for their mean and cruel treatment of the colored portion of their population. It is a grievous wrong, for which they have already suffered much—even the horrors of our late civil war; and which, if not repented of and put away utterly, will bring upon them even a more grievous calamity—another war, a war in our part of the country—a war of races. Politicians, and their creatures, may flout the prediction, but it will surely be fulfilled, unless our loyal, as well as disloyal States, truly repent of their oppressions of the black people of the land. They are the children of the Ahnighty God, as much as the haughtiest descendants of the Anglo Saxons—and our democratic republic is to be judged by its treatment of them, and dashed to pieces if it will not do them justice.

I am not blind to the short-comings of the party that elected Mr. Johnson. They seem to me to have yielded the vital point—the *sine qua non*—in the matter of reconstruction, *i. e.* that the blacks shall be put upon the same political basis with the whites. Alter that basis if it needs alteration. But let all stand upon it alike—on the same conditions, or without any conditions.

I blame our President for not having done better than his party. I blame him for not having shown as much respect to the *rights* of those, who ought to be electors, as to the *wishes* of those who have been and are electors. If he had taken the high, the noble position, which the righteousness of God demands, he would have been sustained by the Republican party, or else, at the next election he would retire to private life with the blessing of the impartial Heavenly Father on his head. When will men learn that it is far safer to adhere to the *right*, though they may seem to go under with it, than to trust to the *wrong*, though they may float—aye, seem to ride triumphantly with it.

One word more, and I will leave Mr. Maynard's painfully interesting letter with your readers.

I grieve that Mr. M. understood me to intimate that our conception of the *vengeance* of the rebels (under reversed conditions) should be the measure of our *justice* to them. I meant to say, that our dealing to them justice—exact justice (a measure of as great mercy to them as to the Freedmen), would shine so conspicuously in the lurid light of their own intended vengeance, that it would not only lead them to acquiesce without complaint, but to respect the Federal government, and the people of the loyal States more than they do now, and to love us sooner.

Yours truly, SAMUEL J. MAY.

MR. MAYNARD'S LETTER.

WASHINGTON, May 28, 1866.

DEAR SIR: I take the liberty from the slight acquaintance I made with you in November, 1864, to invite your renewed attention to one or two points in your letter of the 16th, published in the STANDARD of the 26th inst., upon "the attitude of the President," etc. You say:

"The lamented Lincoln, * * * with wise discrimination, excepted * * * all persons worth twenty thousand dollars. It was Mr. Johnson, and not Mr. Lincoln, that made this exception. And by re-examination of Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation of December, 1863, and Mr. Johnson's of May, 1865, you will find that you have described the latter more nearly than the former. It is in fact much the more rigorous. Mr. Lincoln in his annual Message of December, 1864, says he had never refused a special pardon, if applied for. Mr. Johnson has refused at least five hundred of the principal offenders.

The real complaint against the President—the head and front of his offending—is that he did not impose negro suffrage upon the Southern States. (I say negro, because the use of colored, as a euphemism, is a standing admission of his degradation.) Mr. Johnson has repeatedly and officially expressed himself in favor of the abstract proposition, but opposed to enforcing it upon any community against the wish of those who are now electors.

In this he may be wrong. Let us assume that he is. But, in the name of justice and fair play, is that a reason, an excuse for the unparalleled abuse heaped upon him, not by political opponents, but by political associates? He had promised to do nothing of the sort; he had never expressed himself in favor of anything of the sort. The party that elected him had done nothing of the kind: they have not to this day, in a single State, looking I mean to action at home. Whenever the question has been submitted at the ballot-box, from Connecticut to Colorado, it has been voted down. I refer to the events since his accession to office. Yet Mr. Johnson is denounced in the Senate by Mr. Sumner for falsehood; in the House, by Mr. Stevens, as a usurper; by Mr. Phillips, at Cooper Institute, as a presidential obstacle, that "must be got *out of the way*." (What is that phrase universally understood to mean?) and by the press for all that is vile in treachery and monstrous in tyranny.

There are two ideas I wish to protest against. First, that we should measure our justice, as it is called, by our conception of what, under reversed conditions, would have been rebel vengeance. That would be to convert Elmira into Andersonville, to the eternal dishonor of our nation. Second, to exact of the rebels, now we have them in our power, what we never thought of, when they held us at defiance. Passive subjection is the correlative of rebellion.

It is unwise, as well as wrong, to seize upon the present state of things to pay off old scores; especially to visit on this generation, the political iniquities of the days of Adams and Jefferson.

My sheet is gone; the subject is inexhaustible. I am very truly yours, HORACE MAYNARD.

Rev. Samuel J. May.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, June 4th, 1866.

PRESUMING that you will already have received an official report of the proceedings of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, I need say of them only that they were in a high degree interesting and satisfactory. The attendance was good at all three of the sessions, both in amount and quality, the resolutions were pointed and pungent, the speeches held the audience in interested attention throughout, the great questions of the day were vigorously dealt with, alike in their moral and political aspects, and the hearers showed the genuineness of their sympathy by handing over a very fair contribution to the Financial Committee. All seemed to appreciate the truth that a great amount of strictly anti-slavery labor is yet needed, even among the people of New England. Besides the eloquent speakers who have been accustomed to address the New England Convention, we had impressive speeches from Mrs. Frances E. Harper and Miss Anna E. Dickinson.

The meeting next to this in interest as in time, among the crowded assemblies of anniversary week, was that of the "Equal Rights Association," called and managed by those intelligent and excellent women who have for years labored in behalf of "Woman's Rights." A large portion of the community have been accustomed to sneer at these ladies as self-seeking and fanatical. The new position which they have taken shows, on the contrary, the largeness of their views, the breadth of their sympathy, and the practical good sense which governs their operations. Their proceedings show their full appreciation of the fact that the rights of men and the rights of women must stand or fall together.

Mrs. Dall called the meeting to order, and introduced as its President Mrs. Martha C. Wright of Auburn, N. Y., in the absence of Mrs. Lucretia Mott, the President of the Association. Mrs. Wright made some well chosen introductory remarks. Miss Susan B. Anthony read letters of friendly greeting from Frederick Douglass and William Lloyd Garrison, and then a very admirable report was read by Mrs. Dall, summing up the advance made in the woman's cause during the past year, and making very interesting statements of foreign and domestic events bearing upon this subject.

Mrs. Dall's report was so excellent and instructive, that I am glad to mention that it is printed in the "Proceedings of the Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention." held last month in New York; those who wish to understand the progress and prospects of the women's cause will do well to obtain that document, which contains also the resolutions and speeches of that Convention, the letters addressed to it by intelligent men and women, all over the country, and a list of "Woman's Rights Publications," to be obtained of Susan B. Anthony, Rochester, N. Y.

The freedom of the platform in this Convention was an admirable feature of it. Early in the proceedings it was announced that every member of the audience, male or female, is entitled to speak on the topics under debate, and will be made welcome. This feature of the meeting, agreeing with the customs of Anti-Slavery meetings, stands in striking contrast with the practice of those propagandist associations, erroneously called "benevolent," which form the bulk of the proceedings of "anniversary week." Their arrangements are so cut and dried beforehand, and the pre-arranged course is so strictly observed, that no statement of objection to their course can reach the ear of the audience, even when there is need of exposing serious malpractice on the part of the managers. All Abolitionists will remember the cases of the American Tract Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the choking down of the members of those bodies who wished to expose the fraudulent proceedings of their managers.

Among those who addressed the Equal Rights Convention were Parker Pillsbury, Henry C. Wright, Aaron M. Powell, Dr. Sarah Young, Rev. Olympia Brown (minister of a church at Weymouth in this State), Susan B. Anthony, Stephen S. Foster, Mr. Toohey, Ira Steward, Charles C. Burleigh, Wendell Phillips, Frances Ellen Harper, and Anna E. Dickinson. The mention of these names is enough to indicate that there was abundance of good speaking. No time was lost, and the hours of three sessions were pleasantly and profitably filled.

Among the useful suggestions made at this Convention were the following:

Mrs. Dall said that there was great need of a "mending school," where girls and women could be taught the best methods of repairing half-worn garments, and, in connection with this, of a "mending shop," where the clothes of returned travellers and voyagers could be sent to be refitted, and where young men and old could get repairs promptly done. So numerous are wants of this kind, that it is strange they have not been already provided for.

Parker Pillsbury referred to the great difficulty of inducing communities and classes to accept new freedom when offered, or to make the exertion needful for attaining it when it becomes accessible. A great part of the work of the reformer is the thankless task of instructing an indifferent and quiescent community in regard to its rights, and of stimulating it to the effort of demanding or assuming them. Following out the same idea, AARON M. POWELL said that *present* reform in the relation of women to the government is not to be expected, because women themselves do not ask nor desire it.

It was further mentioned that the word "male," as a restriction upon the action of women, is unknown to the Federal Constitution, as well as the word "black;" and that the introduction into that document of disqualifying terms like these should be resisted in the most strenuous manner, since we can never have a true democracy while the work of government is monopolized by a privileged class. Since the United States do not bar women from voting, they could vote for United States officers as well as for State officers in any State which should recognize their full citizenship. This increases the obligation upon women to demand the right in question, and to urge it strongly until attained.

A resolution introduced by Mr. Phillips referred to the fact that women are not barred from holding office, even in those States where suffrage is denied them; and it went on to suggest that, in the primary meetings for nomination of State, city, and town officers, competent women should be put in nomination for such stations as they can advantageously fill, and thus an opportunity be given to vote for them, and to test the feeling of the community in regard to such incumbents. Especially, said Mr. Phillips, let such women be nominated as those who have served the country with such marked ability and effectiveness in various departments of the Sanitary Commission. Where can abler or more

faithful public servants be found? The resolution to this effect was unanimously adopted.

Stephen S. Foster spoke forcibly of the fact that the Church shares the guilt of the State in denying the fundamental principle of justice, the equality of men, and in assuming that one human being may rightfully rule another. He welcomed every association whose purpose was to claim equal rights for all men, and to remodel our American institutions in conformity with that idea.

Charles C. Burleigh, describing the obvious rectitude of the demand for female suffrage, noticed the fallacy of the objection that some women do not choose to exercise it. Not only can this not limit the right of those who *do* choose, but it is the right of each one of us that *every* member of the community to which we belong shall enjoy his and her rights.

Wendell Phillips, admitting that the suffrage question is the great question of the hour, thought that nevertheless, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the negro's position, *his* claim to this right might fairly be considered to have precedence. Labor for him just now will be most fruitful of speedy results, because his claim comes nearer to being gained than that of any other. Then, if we look at the public welfare, a settlement that excludes the negro from suffrage will wreck the finances of the Union. This hour, then, is preeminently the property of the negro. Nevertheless, said Mr. Phillips, I willingly stand here to plead the women's cause, because the Republican party are seeking to carry their purpose by newly introducing the word "male" into the Constitution. To prevent such a disgrace and corruption of the Constitution, as well as for the general welfare of the community, male and female, I wish to excite interest, everywhere, in the maintenance of woman's right to suffrage. Mr. Phillips went on to say that he never saw any plausible argument against the woman's voting and that our present custom is a product of tradition, and caste, and ignorance, having sprung very largely from the Jewish prejudices against women, and an erroneous notion that Christianity takes the same ground as Judaism upon that subject.

This women's meeting was well conducted and exceedingly interesting, and it met, I believe, with gratifying success in every way. It will henceforth, no doubt, become a more and more prominent feature of anniversary week until its object is gained.

"Ecce Homo," which has reached its third edition here, is said to have reached its seventh in England. The secret of its authorship is still preserved, and, what is equally strange, its character and purport continue to be the subjects of vehement controversy, both here and in its English home. Lord Shaftesbury has denounced it in the spiciest terms of condemnation that sectarian bigotry could furnish, and the (High Church) *London Quarterly Review* backs him up as follows: "To refute all the errors which abound in 'Ecce Homo' would be tedious and useless. That his book should have obtained the suffrages of any members of the Church of England is melancholy evidence of their slight acquaintance with their faith and their Bible." On the other hand, the *North British Review*, an organ of "Evangelical" dissent, says: "It is long since we have read any book that has treated the Christian faith in a more comprehensive and more truly Christian spirit, alike in relation to the claims of science, the wants of the great masses of the people, and to the more delicate graces and bloom of spiritual culture." Just so are the opinions divided of our two Boston organs of Orthodox Congregationalism. The *Recorder* says of the book—"A great cheat is here;" while the *Congregationalist* bestows great praise upon particular features of it, with enough expression of doubt and reservation of opinion to save its own credit in case the work shall prove to have come from an opponent.

NORTH.

LITERARY.

Ticknor & Fields announce "Summer Rest," a new volume of essays by Gail Hamilton. They have also in press a "Book of Sonnets" by Leigh Hunt, never before published. This is not a collection of Hunt's own poems, but an essay on the English and Italian sonneteers, with specimens of their best productions.

Mr. S. Austin Allibone writes under date May 30, "The Dictionary of Authors, which I projected in 1850, and commenced preparing for the press, Aug. 1, 1853, was completed last night at twenty-seven minutes after eight." The public has awaited the completion of this work with patience, and may now, we suppose, anticipate an early appearance of the concluding volume. Mr. Allibone has spent a great deal of time on his Dictionary, and has made a book which is unique and valuable, and yet the first volume does not deserve all the praise it has received. Mr. Allibone's main qualification for his task is an unwearied industry. In judgment and knowledge of books, he is conspicously inferior. Nevertheless, we shall be glad to see his work completed.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

The question of international copyright, always an interesting one, gets a fresh bit of light thrown on it by the following extract from a letter from Mr. James Spedding, the accomplished scholar who gave us the last, and incomparably the best, edition of Bacon. This was reprinted in this country, and Mr. Spedding writes to the London *Daily News* in explanation of a certain letter to which allusion was made by Lord Houghton (R. Monckton Milnes), at the last anniversary dinner of the Royal Literary Fund. We quote a few passages from Mr. Spedding's communication, which will be interesting to American publishers and authors: "It was a letter addressed to myself by Mr. H. O. Houghton, proprietor of the Riverside Press, Cambridge, United States, and inclosed an account of the number of volumes of Bacon's works sold during the year 1865; together with a remittance (presented to me as the principal editor of the best English edition—of the text of which it is a very elegant and accurate reprint) of five per cent. upon the retail price of each volume sold. The book, of which the publication was commenced in 1861 and completed in 1864, though printed by Mr. Houghton, was the property of Messrs. Brown & Taggard of Boston; and it was not till the beginning of the year that Mr. Houghton, in connection with Mr. Hurd of New York, became the proprietor. It is due to these gentlemen to add that the notion of paying a copyright to me originated entirely with themselves, and was not in any way either directly or indirectly suggested by myself; for when I was informed of the project, I merely expressed the satisfaction which I felt in hearing that the book was thought worth publishing in America, and my best wishes for the success of the enterprise. But there seems to be no reason why such an arrangement should not be made beforehand in the regular way of business; and, in the absence of an international copyright, English authors will be glad to know that there is a publishing house in America which will engage to pay them copyright for their works in the shape of a percentage upon the retail price of the books sold."

Judge Thomas Jones, a "loyalist" in the Revolution, died at New York some years ago, leaving behind him a MS. in five large volumes containing the history of that revolution, viewed from a "loyal," or English, point of view, in which his reflections upon the popular leaders are both bitter and severe. The book has hitherto been kept back; but it is now rumored that it is about to be committed to the press.

The stock of Mr. Booth's *fac-simile* reprint of the first folio Shakspeare has been sold at auction in London. Messrs. Routledge were the purchasers. There were about one thousand copies of the small paper edition, and forty or fifty of the extra large paper folio.

A popular life of Abraham Lincoln in Italian has been published in Florence, and is sold for the benefit of the American freedmen. The price of the work is only ten cents a copy.

Trübner's *Literary Record* furnishes a very curious and interesting list, headed "Literature of the Argentine Republic." It consists of some one hundred and fifty publications, chiefly from the presses of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres.

Mr. L. Baker, of the Public Library, Worcester, Mass. having announced that he is engaged on a new edition of the Chinese Classics, a literary journal asserts that Mr. Baker is simply reprinting a garbled edition of Dr. Legge's English translations from the Chinese, and proceeds to remark:

"Had Mr. Baker kept within the province of piratical production, we should not have troubled ourselves to say so much about him and his proceedings; but since he thinks fit to add to his action the assumption of a scholarship he does not possess, we must hold him up to public opprobrium. We caution our readers against Mr. Baker's attempt to foist upon them Dr. Legge's book in a garbled state, all the more so since we have reason to believe that Dr. Legge himself is engaged upon an edition of his work intended for the missionary and general reader. There lived at Lübeck, in the sixteenth century, a master printer, Johannes Ballhorn. He is said, among other things, to have published a new edition of a well-known spelling-book, on the title-page of which he called it, 'a new edition, improved by Johannes Ballhorn.' On examination it was found that the improvement consisted in a basket of eggs added by Ballhorn to the picture of the original cock, which had always adorned the title-pages of former editions. Hence the verb, 'to Ballhornize,' was introduced into the German vocabulary. Should Mr. Baker carry out his intention, we propose to introduce into the Anglo-American vocabulary the verb, 'to Bakerize.'"

Mr. Philip Stanhope Worsley, the author of a translation of the Odyssey into Spenserian verse, which was published in London last year and very favorably received, died on the 8th of May at Freshwater, in the Isle of Wight. Mr. Worsley first became known in the literary world, we believe, by his poetical contributions to *Blackwood's Magazine*. In 1863 he issued a volume of "Poems and Translations," which displayed a great deal of elegance and scholarship and a facility of poetic expression, though they were wanting in warmth and sympathetic feeling. At the time of his death he had completed twelve books of a translation of the Iliad. He was a contributor to the *Athenæum*, the London *Review*, the *Reader*, and other literary periodicals.

ART ITEMS.

Felix O. C. Darley, one of the cleverest and most accomplished of American artists, will sail for Europe in the Cuba, from Boston, on the 6th instant. Mr. Darley is widely known by his illustrations of Judd's Margaret, of Cooper, of Dickens, and other authors, and not less by his caricatures and crayon sketches of war scenes.

An artist of Paris having lately finished an etching after Gericault's picture of the head of a *supplicié* (an executed man), sent a proof to the author of Les Travailleurs de la Mer, with a request that he would give an appropriate line to be engraved beneath it. Hugo replied: "Since you ask a line from me, inscribe beneath your beautiful engraving these closing words of my Claude Gueux, 'This head of a man of the masses, enlighten it, educate it, moralize it—you will not need to cut it off.'"

An engraving of Carpenter's painting, "The Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet," on which Mr. Ritchie has long been engaged, is at last published, and is much praised. Of the painting itself, Mr. CLARENCE COOK, the critic of the *Tribune*, thus restates his opinion:

"As a work of art—a piece of painting, Mr. Carpenter's picture was far from being a masterly work. But, as we have said, this was a secondary consideration in this case. What was essential was, that we should have the facts. Thus Mr. Lincoln looked, first of all. Then Seward, and Chase and the rest of the Cabinet; thus they looked and stood or sat. And the room was to be painted, too. We wanted no gew-gaws, no Academy arm-chairs, nor curtains nor bust of Washington, nor property tables, we wanted none of this, and would put up with none. We wanted the room in its simplicity, the furniture as it stood. As soon paint these men in bare legs and togas, and palliums, with scrolls and fasces after the high old Greenough and Canova fashion, as treat the details in Mr. Huntington's theatric vein. Mr. Carpenter struck for the homely truth and reached it, and the American people have given their verdict, and will not retract it."

Mr. Bierstadt's fame in England seems to be considerably less than here. The London *Reader* announces that "a large and important landscape work, called 'The Rocky Mountains,' from the able pencil of M. Albert Bierstadt, an American citizen," has arrived in England. Evidently impressed, by what is termed "the marked artistic merit" of this work of art, and candidly confessing that "the region depicted is new to English eyes," the critic of the *Reader* announces his intention of embracing an early opportunity to notice the "American citizen" more at large.

At Schaus's art gallery, 749 Broadway, a picture by Meyer von Bremen, called "It Won't," has just been added to the other attractions. The exhibition is free.

The London *Spectator*, in criticising the Academy, remarks, "The Royal Academy of Arts ought certainly to have the three words "except landscape painting" added to its title. Small as is the assistance which the Academy gives to artists of any sort, it denies even that little to landscape painters." If Haydon were alive, he might rejoice to know that the shortcomings of the Academy, against which he fought all his life, were exposed and denounced in leading journals and even in Parliament.

CORRECTION.—In the last paragraph of the article, "The present danger," by C. D. B. Mills, published last week, for "*buried* into the consciousness of our countrymen," read "*burned*."

CONGRESS, AND WASHINGTON NEWS.

In the Senate, May 30, the new Freedmen's Bureau bill was received from the House and referred to the Military Committee. We hope Mr. Wilson will report it back promptly.—Reconstruction was debated, and Mr. Doolittle got sharply called to order for stating the thing that was not. His ignorance of what went on in the Republican caucus draws attention to the fact that he is no longer invited to share in the councils of that party. A number of amendments from his side of the house were voted down; in each case by more than a two-third majority.—A change in the management of the Freedmen's Bureau has been consummated, by which the military officers in command of Districts at the South are to be Bureau Commissioners.—Among others, Gen. Tilson of Georgia, who refused to allow the colored women of Augusta to decorate the graves of Union soldiers with flowers.—Mr. Wentworth—"Long John"—comes back from Illinois with the report that "my policy" has "gone up" out West.—June 1, the Senate and House adopted resolutions of respect to the memory of Gen. Scott, and appointed a committee to attend his funeral at West Point.—There was another debate on Reconstruction in the Senate, without reaching any conclusion.—The House passed two railway bills to break up the Pennsylvania Central monopoly, and open a highway from Washington to the Northwest—just and necessary measures. It also concurred in the Senate amendment to the general joint resolution to facilitate railway communication between the States, and that will become a law if the President does not withhold his signature.—Congress adjourned over from Friday, June 1st, to Monday, June 4, in honor of Gen. Scott.—Mr. Charles O'Conor appeared in Washington on Friday to consult with the President in reference to the trial of Jefferson Davis. As Mr. O'Conor is counsel not for the government but for the prisoner, the consultation must be supposed to have been for the benefit of the latter, and Mr. O'Conor professes himself greatly pleased with his reception and the result of his interview.—There was a Colored School Convention on Friday. The teachers of colored schools in Washington and vicinity met and there were eight schools represented by 102 teachers, supported by ten different Northern societies. The number of scholars is reported at 4,371, with an average attendance of 2,970. The Rev. John Kimball acted as President.—On Monday, June 5, Congress reassembled, and the Senate continued its reconstruction debate.—A still further change in the amendment was made in caucus, embodying sections three and four in one—a change mainly of phraseology.—The reply of Secretary McCulloch to the House resolution in relation to gold sales by the Treasury Department, was sent into the House and shows that $35,440,000 were sold during the month of May, at an average premium of over 30 per cent. and that about $15,000,000 were sold during the latter part of February. The report, which makes 25 pages foolscap, is a very comprehensive document, and gives a full and complete history of the gold transactions since Jan. 1.

The Postmaster General sent a report to the Senate against the proposed scheme of putting the telegraphs under control of his department.—In the House, Mr. Williams of Pennsylvania called up his resolution concerning the outrage at Augusta, and it was passed as follows:

Resolved, that the President be requested to inform this House whether the military or civil employés of this government within the State of Georgia or any of the other rebel States have in any way countenanced or assisted in the rendition of public honors to any of the traitors, either living or dead, who have been waging a parricidal war against this government, in commemoration of their great crime, either by closing their offices on such occasions, or making other favorable public demonstrations in connection therewith, and further, whether the privilege of doing like honor to loyalty at the graves of the Union soldiers who have perished far from their homes and kindred has been in any instance obstructed or denied by the rebel authorities, with the concurrence or acquiescence of the officers of this government.

Resolutions against lending the credit of the government to Mexico were introduced, but there seemed to be a feeling against passing them, and they were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.—A Fenian resolution met with some disfavor, and was laid over.—Another debate was held on reconstruction, and no vote taken.—A gentleman with the Congressional Investigation Committee at Memphis, writes the following: "They have brought to light nearly two hundred distinct crimes perpetrated within those three days, many of them by police and other city authorities, embracing murder, rapes, arson, burglaries, highway robberies, maiming, etc. The offenders walk the streets in open day, and no man has been arrested. No steps have been taken by the civil authorities to bring criminals to justice. On the third day Gen. Stoneman took military possession of the city; and, but for this, it is believed here, that the Blacks and 'Yankee niggers,' as Northern men are called, would have been killed, or driven out of the city. The Committee expect to complete their labors, and be back here in the course of two weeks."

Tuesday, June 5, the House passed the Military Pay bill, reducing the pay of officers, and regulating that of the soldiers. A bill was reported to establish a Department of Education in Washington, which the Copperheads opposed because it did not exclude negroes from its benefits.

OBITUARY.

DIED, at his residence, in Dorchester, Mass., the 19th ult., DAVID D. BARTLETT, aged fifty-nine years and nine months.

On the 22d, under the pine trees of the beautiful cemetery at Kingstown, Mass. (his native town), were deposited his mortal remains. For a quarter of a century or more Mr. Bartlett was a consistent advocate of anti-slavery principles as set forth and sustained by the American Anti-Slavery Society. Like most of the early Abolitionists, he was deeply interested in the Temperance and other reformatory movements of the age. Although he had but little faith in creeds and outward ceremonies of religion, his aim of life was to live out the great principles of Christianity and do good even to those who had injured him.

B.

AN APPEAL

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FOR THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMAN.

Adopted by the Eleventh National Woman's Rights Convention, held in New York City, May 10, 1866.

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

WE have already appeared many times during the present session before your honorable body, in petitions, asking the enfranchisement of woman; and now, from this National Convention, we again make our appeal, and urge you to lay no hand on that "pyramid of rights," the Constitution of the Fathers, unless to add glory to its height and strength to its foundation.

We will not rehearse the oft-repeated arguments on the natural rights of every citizen, pressed as they have been on the nation's conscience for thirty years in securing freedom for the black man, and so grandly echoed on the floor of Congress during the past Winter. We cannot add one line or precept to the inexhaustible speech recently made by Charles Sumner in the Senate, to prove that "no just government can be formed without the consent of the governed;" to prove the dignity, the education, the power, the necessity, the salvation of the ballot in the hand of every man and woman; to prove that a just government and a true church rest alike on the sacred right of the individual.

As you are familiar with that speech of the session on "EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL," so convincing in facts, so clear in philosophy, and so elaborate in quotation from the great minds of the past, without reproducing the chain of argument, permit us to call your attention to a few of its unanswerable assertions on the ballot. "I plead now for the ballot, as the great guarantee; and the only sufficient guarantee—being in itself peacemaker, reconciler, schoolmaster and protector—to which we are bound by every necessity and every reason; and I speak also for the good of the States lately in rebellion, as well as for the glory and safety of the republic, that it may be an example to mankind."

"Ay, sir, the ballot is the Columbiad of our political life, and every citizen who has it is a full-armed Monitor."

"The ballot is schoolmaster. Reading and writing are of inestimable value, but the ballot teaches what these cannot teach."

"Plutarch records that the wise men of Athens charmed the people by saying that Equality causes no War, and both the rich and poor repeated it."

"The ballot is like charity, which never faileth, and without which man is only as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. The ballot is the one thing needful, without which rights of testimony and all other rights will be no better than cobwebs, which the master will break through with impunity. To him who has the ballot all other things shall be given—protection, opportunity, education, a homestead. The ballot is like the Horn of Abundance, out of which overflow rights of every kind, with corn, cotton, rice, and all the fruits of the earth. Or, better still, it is like the hand of the body, without which man, who is now only a little lower than the angels, must have continued only a little above the brutes. They are fearfully and wonderfully made; but as is the hand in the work of civilization, so is the ballot in the work of government. 'Give me the ballot and I can move the world.'

"Do you wish to see harmony truly prevail, so that industry, society, government, civilization, may all prosper, and the Republic may wear a crown of true greatness? Then do not neglect the ballot.

"Lamartine said 'universal suffrage is the first truth, and only basis of every national republic.'"

In regard to "qualifications," should you adopt the joint resolutions before Congress to introduce the word "male" into the Federal Constitution, or enact the report of the Reconstruction Committee of Fifteen, you require an insurmountable "qualification" of one half your tax-paying citizens, which, according to Mr. Sumner, is tyranny. "It is 'qualifications' only," he says, "which the States can determine, meaning by this limited term, those requirements of personal condition which are regarded as essential to the security of the franchise. These 'qualifications' cannot be in their nature permanent or insurmountable. Color cannot be a 'qualification,' any more than size or the quality of the hair. A permanent or insurmountable 'qualification' is equivalent to a deprivation of the suffrage; in other words, it is the tyranny of taxation without representation; and this tyranny, I insist, is not intrusted to any State of this Union."

In regard to "Taxation without Representation," Mr. Sumner quotes from Lord Coke: "The Supreme Power cannot take from any man any part of his property without consent in person, or by representation."

"Taxes are not to be laid on the people, but by their consent in person, or by representation.

"I can see no reason to doubt but that the imposition of taxes, whether on trade, or on land, or houses, or ships, or real or personal, fixed or floating, property in the colonies, is absolutely irreconcilable with the rights of the colonies, as British subjects, and as men. I say men, for in a state of nature no man can take any property from me without my consent. If he does he deprives me of my liberty and makes me a slave. The very act of taxing, exercised over those who are not represented, appears to me to deprive them of one of their most essential rights as freemen, and if continued seems to be in effect an entire disfranchisement of every civil right. For what one civil right is worth a rush, after a man's property is subject to be taken from him at pleasure, without his consent."

If you say women are virtually represented by the men of their household, we give you Mr. Sumner's denial, quoting James Otis: "No such phrase as 'virtual representation' was known in law or Constitution; that it is altogether a subtlety and an illusion, wholly unfounded and absurd; and that we must not be cheated by any such phantom, or any other fiction of law or politics, or any monkish trick of deceit or hypocrisy."

In demanding suffrage for the black man, you recognize the fact that as a freedman he is no longer a "part of the family," and, that, therefore, his master is no longer his representative: hence, as he will now be liable to taxation, he must also have representation. Woman, on the contrary, has never been such a "part of the family" as to escape taxation. Although there has been no formal proclamation giving her an individual existence, she has always had the right to property and wages, the right to make contracts and do business in her own name. And even married women, by recent legislation, have been secured in these civil rights. Woman now holds a vast amount of the property in the country, and pays her full proportion of taxes, revenue included. On what principle, then, do you deny her representation?

By what process of reasoning Charles Sumner was able to stand up in the Senate, a few days after these sublime utterances, and rebuke 15,000,000 disfranchised tax-payers for the exercise of their right of petition merely, is past understanding. If he felt that this was not the time for woman to even mention her right to representation, why did he not take breath in some of his splendid periods, and propose to release the poor shirt-makers, milliners and dressmakers, and all women of property, from the tyranny of taxation?

We propose no new theories. We simply ask that you secure to ALL the practical application of the immutable principles of our government, without distinction of race, color, or sex. And we urge our demand *now*, because you have the opportunity and the power to take this onward step in legislation.

The nations of the earth stand watching and waiting to see if our Revolutionary idea, "all men are created equal," can be realized in government. Crush not, we pray you, the million hopes that hang on our success. Peril not another bloody war. Men and parties must pass away, but justice is eternal. And they only who work in harmony with its laws are immortal.

All who have carefully noted the proceedings of this Congress, and contrasted your speeches with those made under the old *régime* of slavery must have seen the added power and eloquence that greater freedom gives. But still you propose no action on your grand ideas. Your Joint Resolutions, your Reconstruction Reports, do not reflect your highest thought.

The Constitution, in basing representation on "respective numbers," covers a broader ground than any you have yet proposed. Is not the only amendment needed to Article 1st, Section 3d, to strike out the exceptions which follow "respective numbers?" And is it not your duty, by securing a republican form of government to every State, to see that these "respective numbers" are made up of enfranchised citizens? Thus bringing your legislation up to the Constitution—not the Constitution down to your party possibilities!!

The only tenable ground of representation is UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE, as it is only through Universal Suffrage that the principle of "Equal Rights to All" can be realized. All prohibitions based on race, color, sex, property, or education, are violations of the republican idea; and the various qualifications now proposed are but so many plausible pretexts to debar new classes from the ballot-box. The limitations of property and intelligence, though unfair, can be met; as with freedom must come the repeal of statute laws that deny schools and wages to the negro. So time makes him a voter. But color and sex! Ah! there's the rub! Neither time nor statutes can make black white, or woman man!

You assume to be the representatives of 15,000,000 women—American citizens—who already possess every attainable qualification for the ballot. Women read and write, hold many offices under government, pay taxes, and the penalties of crime, and yet are allowed to exercise but the one right of petition.

For twenty years we have labored to bring the statute laws of the several States into harmony with the broad principles of the Constitution, and have been so far successful that in many, little remains to be done but to secure the right of suffrage. Hence, our prompt protest against the propositions before Congress to introduce the word "male" into the Federal Constitution, which, if successful, would block all State action in giving the ballot to woman. As the only way disfranchised citizens can appear before you, we availed ourselves of the sacred right of petition. And, as our representatives, it was your duty to give those petitions a respectful reading and a serious consideration. How well a Republican Senate performed that duty is already inscribed on the page of history.

Some tell us it is not judicious to press the claims of women *now*; that this is not the time. Time! When you propose legislation so fatal to the best interests of woman and the nation, shall we be silent till the deed is done? No! As we love republican ideas, we must resist tyranny. As we honor the position of American Senator, we must appeal from the politician to the man.

With man, woman shared the dangers of the Mayflower on a stormy sea, the dreary landing on Plymouth Rock, the rigors of a New England Winter, and the privations of a seven years' war. With him she bravely threw off the British yoke, felt every pulsation of his heart for freedom, and inspired the glowing eloquence that maintained it through the century.

With you, we have just passed through the agony and death, the resurrection and triumph, of another revolution, doing all in our power to mitigate its horrors and gild its glories. And now, think you, we have no souls to fire, no brains to weigh your arguments; that, after education such as this, we can stand silent witnesses while you sell our birthright of liberty, to save from a timely death an effete political organization?

No, as we respect womanhood, we must protest against this desecration of the magna charta of American liberties; and with an importunity not to be repelled, our demand must ever be: "No compromise of human rights"—"No admission in the Constitution of inequality of rights, or disfranchisement on account of color"—or sex.

In the oft-repeated experiments of class and caste, who can number the nations that have risen but to fall? Do not imagine you come one line nearer the demand of justice by enfranchising but another shade of *man*hood; for in denying representation to woman you still cling to the same principle on which all the governments of the past have been wrecked.

The right way, the safe way, is so clear, the path of duty is so straight and simple, that we who are equally interested with yourselves in the result, conjure you to act not for the passing hour, not with reference to transient benefits, but to do now the one grand deed that shall mark the progress of the century—proclaim EQUAL RIGHTS TO ALL.

We press our demand for the ballot at this time in no narrow, captious, or selfish spirit; from no contempt for the black man's claims, nor antagonism with you, who in the progress of civilization are now the privileged order; but from the purest patriotism, for the highest good of every citizen, for the safety of the republic, and as a spotless example to the nations of the earth.

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The numerous friends of the late Rev. Eliphalett Nott, so long the honored President of Union College, will be pleased to learn that a fine steel-engraved portrait has just been issued of this venerable theologian. It is engraved from a late photograph, in the highest style of line-work; and the neat border of the portrait contains a correct view of Union College; also, the fac-simile autograph of the Dr. The many graduates of this institution will not fail to appreciate this souvenir of art. Size, 19 by 24; price, $1.00.

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BEFORE THE CABINET,

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EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS FROM CABINET OFFICERS TO THE ARTIST

From Secretary Seward (to the publishers).

WASHINGTON, 25th May, 1866.

I beg you to accept my thanks for the fine engraving you have sent me of Mr. Carpenter's picture, "The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation."

It is a vivid representation of the scene, with portraits of rare fidelity to nature.

The engraver has been singularly successful in copying it, without impairing or deteriorating from its excellence in these points.

Faithfully yours,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

From Chief Justice Chase (late Secretary of the Treasury).

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1866.

I have just received the engraving of your "Emancipation Proclamation Picture." I do not see that improvement is possible.

Accept my congratulations on your complete success.

As always, your friend,
S. P. CHASE.

F. B. CARPENTER, Esq.

From Secretary Stanton.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 22, 1866.

Accept my thanks for the artist proof of your admirable painting of "The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet."

The work is, in every respect that I am capable of judging, entirely satisfactory, and worthy of national admiration, as a fitting commemoration of Mr. Lincoln's great deed.

Yours truly,
EDWIN M. STANTON.

From Secretary Welles.

NAVY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 6, 1866.

The Engraving, I am happy to see, is amply commended. Some parts are excellent, and all well done. Some feeling of sadness when I saw it came over me for the great and good man who so interested himself for you, and whom we all love.

Very truly yours,
GIDEON WELLES.

From Secretary McCulloch.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, May 3, 1866.

The Engraving is a very elegant one. I have no doubt the picture will be generally approved and greatly admired.

I am, very truly, yours,
HUGH McCULLOCH.

From the Hon. Edward Bates, late Attorney-General of the United States.

The individual portraits are very life-like. Indeed, I have never seen a group of seven or eight figures all of which so truly presented the originals.

The execution seems to me excellent, and without any opinion of mine, my dear sir, your work is a *manifest* success.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
EDWARD BATES.

From the Hon. M. Blair, late Postmaster-General.

Your picture of the President and Cabinet in council on the Emancipation Proclamation is, in my judgment, a very fine work of art. The likenesses, the grouping, and the surroundings all seem to me to be very good, and to make an admirable representation of the persons, the place and the occasion.

Yours truly,
M. BLAIR.

From Postmaster-General Dennison.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 8, 1866.

It gives me very great pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of the admirable engraving from your noble painting of "The First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet," by our lamented President.

The approving judgment of the country of the merit of the picture, and the justness of the association with Trumbull's "Declaration of Independence," as a great national painting which has been so universally conceded, cannot fail to commend the engraving to every truly patriotic American citizen.

Truly yours,
W. DENNISON.

From Secretary Harlan.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
WASHINGTON, D. C., May 7, 1866.

I take great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of Ritchie's Engraving from your beautiful painting.

Trusting, my dear sir, that you may live long to enjoy the fruits of your eminent talent,
I am, truly yours,
JAMES HARLAN.

From Attorney-General Speed.

ATTORNEY-GENERAL'S OFFICE, WASHINGTON, May 17, 1866.

In your great picture you have succeeded in bringing out and making the faces show their thoughts. You have not sunk the natural in the heroic, a fault so common that it must be difficult for an artist to avoid it. The naturalness of the picture makes it with me one of the grandest and most beautiful achievements of art that I have ever seen.

Truly yours,
JAMES SPEED.

From Senator Fessenden, late Secretary of the Treasury.

WASHINGTON, May 17, 1866.

I have received the engraving from your picture of "The First Reading." It is admirably done, both in points of finish and faithfulness, and I prize it highly.

Yours truly,
W. P. FESSENDEN.

EXTRACTS FROM NOTICES AND REVIEWS.

From The New York Times.

To those who have seen the original, it is enough to state that the engraving is 21x30 inches in size; that it is a perfect production of the painting, to the minutest detail, and that it is executed in Mr. Ritchie's best style, which is equivalent to saying that it is as fine an engraving as can be produced in America. A brief statement of

Miscellaneous Department.

CAPTAIN GRONOW, THE AUTHOR.

Captain Gronow, late of the British Life Guards, whose interesting memoirs have made his name famous to all general readers, died in Paris, on Monday, the 20th of November. Captain Gronow, who was in the Guards at Waterloo, was one of the old school, and had probably seen as much "life" as any man of the day.

Of his personal appearance and career a Paris correspondence thus speaks: Who does not remember that small, neat, soldier-like figure, as erect in 1865 as when he was drilled at St. James's Palace in 1812? Who does not remember that handsome old man's face, with the quick eye that made him the best pistol shot of his own or perhaps any other day? Who that knew him ever conversed with Gronow long without hearing an anecdote of the past courts, camps and miscellaneous fashionable world? It was in 1862 that Captain Gronow published the first volume of his "Reminiscences," and in that book will be found the most conspicuous events of his eventful life. It was written in Paris, with the assistance of some literary friends, to whom had been submitted the fragmentary manuscript. Two other volumes of a similar nature have since appeared; and I believe a fourth volume of anecdotes is now in the press. The four volumes did not exhaust his store of gossiping narratives about all classes of society; but during the last half century many of the remaining fragments are of too personal and domestic a nature to be given to the world. Captain Gronow, the son of a Welsh gentleman, commenced his military career in 1813, when he joined the expedition to Spain, under the duke of Wellington. After going through the excitement of that brief campaign he returned to England, and was one of the conspicuous and fashionable men about town; a gallant in the drawing-room, an amusing gossiper at the clubs—in fact, one of that sort of men who are occasionally taken up instinctively by royalty and some of the higher members of aristocratic society. The demands of the service soon took him back to the Continent again, and he found himself at the battle of Waterloo, an interesting description of which is given in the first volume of the deceased soldier's "Reminiscences." The best known events of Captain Gronow's life occurred when the allies entered Paris. The young soldier was one of the fashionable *flaneurs* of the city, and passed his time among a military conglomeration of several European nations. Society was characterized by the prevalance of gambling and duelling, which at that time were the prevailing habits and customs of the rollicking allies in Paris. Brave as a lion, an excellent shot, and a man by no means inclined to accept an intended slight or an insult, such as Frenchmen in those days took infinite delight in addressing to Englishmen, he found himself identified, both personally and as a second, in several duels. No English officer more gallantly upheld the honor and chivalry of the British army than Captain Gronow. Some of his duelling adventures have been made use of by novelists and dramatists. Gronow, however, never referred to these encounters himself, and in his "Anecdotes and Reminiscences" he has studiously avoided the narrative of many personal events which would have formed not the least attractive chapter of his gossiping miscellanies. His social career, his acquaintance with and recollection of men of the times, form perhaps the most attractive features of his richly-stored mind. It is only necessary to turn to the volumes of his "Reminiscences," and you find that he was identified with the most prominent statesmen, men of letters, dandies, Jew money-lenders, ambassadors and celebrities of the fashionable world, such as Brummell and D'Orsay. Nothing can better illustrate Captain Gronow's anti-toadyism, despite his continual mingling with the highest classes, than the observations he makes about the Prince Regent in his first volume of personal sketches and anecdotes. At page fifty-three he says:

"The Regent was singularly imbued with petty royal pride. He would rather be amiable and familiar with his tailor than agreeable and friendly with the most illustrious of the aristocracy of Great Britain; he would rather joke with a Brummell than admit to his confidence a Norfolk or a Somerset. The Regent was always particularly well bred in public, and showed, if he chose, decidedly good manners; but he very often preferred to address those whom he felt he could patronize. His Royal Highness was as much the victim of circumstances and the child of thoughtless imprudence as the most humble subject of the crown. His unfortunate marriage with a Princess of Brunswick originated in his debts—as he married that unhappy lady for one million sterling, William Pitt being the contractor. The Princess of Wales married nothing but an association with the crown of England. If the Prince ever seriously loved any woman, it was Mrs. Fitzherbert, with whom he had appeared at the altar."

Captain Gronow was twice married, his second alliance having taken place within the last ten years. He leaves four children and a youthful and amiable wife to lament the loss of an affectionate father and distinguished man of the time. The immediate cause of his death was violent hemorrhage from the nose, which yielded to remedies, and was then succeeded by a fatal attack of erysipelas.

"MONSIEUR DE PARIS."

In the *Indipendento* of Naples, M. Alexandre Dumas has just published, under the title of "Memoires de Monsieur de Paris," the following curious and characteristic narrative:

"I had read," says the writer, "in many narratives of the death of Louis XVI. that he refused to ascend the scaffold, that it was found necessary to use force, and that a struggle took place between him and the executioner's assistants. This incident seemed to me so contrary to the character of the king that I was anxious to ascertain the truth, if possible, and, for that purpose, resolved to apply to Monsieur de Paris himself, who was the son of Sanson, who guillotined Louis XVI.; he was only twelve or fourteen years old at the time, and, as he was present on the scaffold, he must certainly remember all that took place on that memorable occasion. . . . I told him who I was, and, after an exclamation of surprise, he eagerly requested to know what he could do to oblige me. 'You can clear up,' I said, 'an historical doubt. You were present at the execution of Louis XVI?' 'I was.' 'And you remember it perfectly?' 'I do.' 'Well, sir, some historians say that, at the foot of the scaffold, Louis XVI. shrank from death; that he struggled with the executioners, and was in a manner lifted on to the scaffold. For my part, I do not believe the statement, as it was contrary to his character and temperament.' 'There is, nevertheless, some truth in it,' replied the other, 'as Louis XVI. *did* struggle violently for a moment with my father's assistants, and for the reason I am about to explain. You are aware that Louis XVI. was conveyed to the place of execution in his own carriage, and without being pinioned. Before he ascended the steps, the executioner's assistants, fearing he might struggle at the last moment, wished to bind his hands with a cord; but this indignity roused all the pride still surviving in the unhappy monarch, and he resisted, exclaiming, "No, no; I will never submit to that!" The men were about to use force, when my father stepped forward, and taking from his pocket a handkerchief, said, in a tremulous voice, and with tearful eyes, "With this handkerchief, Sire?" Louis XVI. had not heard himself called Sire for six months before. He looked at my father, saw his tears, and at once held out his hands, which my father tied with the handkerchief. The rest passed as related by the historians.' Having obtained Sanson's permission to ask a few other questions, I requested to know whether it was true that the office he held was hereditary and obligatory in his family. 'No, sir,' he replied, 'but in the absence of a positive law, there is the law of proprieties. What profession but his father's can the son of an executioner follow? I await your other questions.' My next inquiry was, whether it was true that he could not have a carriage except on condition that his name should be inscribed on the doors. 'There is no obligation,' replied he; 'but such is the custom. Should you like to see how we elude it in practice?' Having answered in the affirmative, he said that he would take me down to see the carriage, and accordingly ordered the servant to bring a lantern. While the man was gone, Sanson said that his daughter would never forgive him, if he allowed me to leave without her seeing me, and was about to fetch her, when I remarked that I would rather go to her in the drawing-room. He seemed pleased with my proposal, and we went there. On entering the room we found her seated at the piano. She was a fair girl of about eighteen, with blue eyes, and a rather melancholy expression of countenance. 'My dear,' said Sanson, 'here is a gentleman whom you think much of; knowing all your admiration for him, I would not let him leave without doing you the honor to embrace you.' She looked embarrassed, and blushed quite red. 'First of all, father,' said she, with some confusion, 'I wish to know the gentleman's name.' He replied, 'You shall know it afterwards, for if I told you first, it is you that would embrace him.' 'Oh! father!' she exclaimed, in a tone of reproach. I then embraced her, after which she looked inquiringly at her father, who said, 'Well! he is M. Alexandre Dumas.' She then dropped on a chair, and sat looking at me as if amazed. 'Look at him well, girl,' said the father, with that melancholy accent which was habitual to him, 'for it is probably the first and last time you will ever behold him.' This little scene made such an impression on me that fifteen years later, I attempted to reproduce it in the novel of 'La Reine Margot.' We then went down to the coach-house, in which there were two or three carriages. Sanson took me to the handsomest, and showed me the escutcheon on the door; it presented a broken bell argent, on a red ground, and under it as a motto were the two words SANS SON, being a pun on the family name. Having learned all I wished to know, I now expressed my thanks to M. Sanson, and took my leave."

ARCUS SENILIS.

The Arcus Senilis, or in plain English the "Old Man's Bow," is the designation of an appearance of the eye, which has been remarked as a characteristic of age since the days of the elder Pliny. Though it may be popularly described as a grayish white, but opaque, milky-looking ring, that occasionly surrounds the corner, yet, strictly speaking, its appearance is that of a pair of well-defined bows or crescents joined to form a circle in each eye. Though its appearance is a characteristic of age, it is far from being universally so. In some of the most noted examples of longevity, such as Old Parr, as other more modern and better-observed instances, not a vestige of the arcus could be said to exist; whilst, on the other hand, it is unfortunately but too often found in the eyes of the comparatively young, though, perhaps, never in those of the temperate or truly healthy. Notwithstanding this peculiarity has been so long observed by medical men, it was not associated by them with any particular species of internal disease, or, if so, deemed, perhaps of as slight consequence as an occasional marking on the nails. In short, until the observations of Mr. Canton, this strictly morbid appearance formed no element in the diagnosis of the medical practitioner. To this gentleman's acute inductive reasoning, therefore, are the members of his profession indebted for associating this appearance with most dangerous organic disease, especially that of the heart. Not only have the more recent labors of Mr. Canton himself borne out his earlier observations, but they have received ample confirmation from some of the most eminent contemporary practitioners, until indeed the *arcus senilis* is now recognized as one of the most unerring *indiciæ* of hidden disease known to the profession. We have no hesitation in setting down this discovery as one of the most important that has been added to medical science within our recollection. The very important class of internal disease to which Mr. Canton shows the *arcus* so faithfully points, is known to medical men by the term of "fatty degeneration," which, though more importantly affecting the heart, is by no means confined to this organ. As our readers may require explanation as to the term itself, we may add that when the human system "makes fat," it is by no means in a high state of health; but where fat is found substituting itself for the muscle or flesh of the heart, the organ is then said to have undergone "fatty degeneration," but for which term the far more forcible and equally true one, rottenness, might be substituted; for whenever fat assumes the place of the fleshy parts of an organ, such organ is as surely rotten—quoad the fatty parts—as a piece of timber would be if affected with dry rot; and, let us add, is then equally, if not more, dangerous to the structure of which it forms a part. It is true, either may be to all appearance sound and strong, but when the slightest extra strain or exertion is called for, both break down—the man as well as the rotten timber.

POWER OF SUBSTANCES TO THROW OFF HEAT.

The different power in substances to throw off heat is turned to very effectual use in the economy of nature, and it must be viewed as an evidence of an all-wise designing mind, that those things which need moisture most are the best radiators of heat, and therefore the best contractors of dew. Leaves, grass, and plants all have their special powers of radiating heat, so as to obtain their adequate supply of dew, and this simple function is of the greatest importance in the just maintenance of vegetable life: and its benefit is such that in the words of Chaucer—

"The earth waxeth proud withal
For sweet dews that on it fall."

But this property does not belong only to plants; in the instance of different soils, the dew is found to collect more abundantly on light, porous, cultivated lands, than on the hard, dry, barren rocks which bring forth no produce. This difference may be seen in our gardens any clear starlight night, when the grass will be found covered with moisture, and the walks dry. Chemistry tells us the reason of this difference—that gravel is a bad radiator, and keeps its heat—but chemistry does not explain how all these simple laws of nature have been made each to fulfil the part that best conduces to the happiness and comfort of the created. It must be remembered that the texture of a surface has a great deal to do with its power of radiation. Close-grained substances—such as metals—are admirable conductors of heat, but they are bad radiators. The fact of their particles being close together assists their power of propagating heat from one part to another; but coarse, loose textures—such as down, cloth, wool, cotton, etc.—give out heat quickly; and, as they do not possess the power of receiving it as rapidly, become cold. Thus they are best adapted for clothing, because they do not conduct the heat of the body away from itself, but it remains collected under their substance, while the outer surface is cold. A very slight shade will prevent radiation. This we see in the contrivance of gardeners, who use bass, canvas, or even muslin, to keep off the frost from their plants; and all these materials have sufficiently loose textures to prevent the heat given out by the plant passing off into the outer air. "I had often," says Dr. Wells, "in the pride of half knowledge, smiled at the means frequently employed by gardeners to protect tender plants from the cold, as it appeared to me impossible that a thin mat, or any such flimsy substance, could prevent their attaining the temperature of the atmosphere. But when I learned that bodies on the surface of the earth become, during a still and serene night, colder than the atmosphere by radiating their heat to the heavens, I perceived immediately a just reason for the practice which I had before deemed useless." The accomplishment of the desired end, without a knowledge of scientific principles having led to it, is interesting, and very creditable to the observant faculty of the uneducated. There is a custom among the natives of India which also illustrates the same principle of radiation as the night-coverings of the gardeners. Artificial ice is commonly produced in India by placing water in flat shallow vessels exposed to the influence of the night-air. The pans are placed in an unsheltered spot on straw, which, being a bad conductor, prevents any absorbtion of heat from the ground; and the porous texture of the earthenware vessels admits of a portion of the latent heat of the water passing off beneath. Of course, the surface is also radiating heat; and as no equivalent is received, the water gradually diminishes in temperature until the freezing-point is reached. The ice thus formed is covered with straw, to prevent any absorption of heat, and is stowed away in caves, where it is kept for use during the hottest seasons.—*Chambers's Journal.*

Singular Discoveries.—The salt mines of Hallstadt, in Austria, are well known as being among the richest in Europe; but a new interest will henceforth attach to them in consequence of the patient researches continued for the last fourteen years by their present director, M. Ramsauer, as we collect from a letter addressed by M. Fournet to M. Elie de Beaumont, and by the latter communication to the Academy of Sciences. In the neighborhood of Hallstadt there is the Rudolfsthrum, a tower situated in the midst of an Alpine valley, in which the salt mines above alluded to are situated. Here M. Ramsauer has discovered and explored no less than nine hundred and sixty-three tombs, of the ages of bronze and iron. In some of these tombs the skeleton was found entire, in others only the ashes; in others, again, the bodies were found to have been only partially burnt, sometimes the head only, and sometimes the feet. When the head only had been burnt, its ashes were placed at the feet of the body.

The objects found in these tombs are extremely interesting; among them we may mention one hundred and eighty-two bronze vases, the largest of which are ninety centimeters in height. In those days soldering seems to have been unknown, since these vases are composed of pieces neatly rivited together. Besides these there are scarfs and belts, not of skin or textile materials, but of thin bronze with ornamental chasings, quite similar to those found in Helvetian and ante-Roman tombs, as, for instance, near Besancon; then knives, daggers, swords, and lance-heads, both bronze and iron; hatchets of bronze, of two principal patterns, one called the celt, and the other the paalstab, with four blades; then amber collars, some very few glass beads, two small glass vases, hundreds of fibulæ hair pins, bronze bracelets, and other trinkets, some of the latter attached to chains not unlike our modern watch chains; also, a deal of ornamental pottery; a few ivory articles, such as knife handles and swords hilts, one of which is inlaid with amber; and lastly, a little gold, but not a particle of silver, and not a trace of money or an alphabet.

M. Ramsauer has also discovered in the mines themseves, the old galleries worked by the ancient race whose traces he has discovered, and the tools with which they had been worked. These tools are bronze pick-axes; and beside one of them there were found a fibula like those of the tombs, some remnants of woolen stuffs and chamois leather. It appears that these mines must have been worked for centuries before the Christian era.

A HUNDRED HOURS WITHOUT SLEEP.

Although the feat of last week in this city, in which an individual kept awake one hundred hours and walked a mile in every hour, was of but small account on the score of merely winning a bet, yet, as illustrating the extent of human endurance and the necessity of repose to our existence, it is a matter well worthy of record.

On Tuesday of last week, at five p.m., Mr. John Seaver, a young man of about twenty-five, a native of this place, on a wager of five hundred dollars, commenced walking one hundred miles in as many consecutive hours, without sleep. The place selected was Union Hall, around which, outside of the settees, forty-two circuits made a mile. Several watchers were placed on both sides, who by change were all the time in attendance. On Wednesday afternoon, at the close of the first twenty-four hours, he became weary and felt a stronger disposition to sleep than he afterwards experienced. This was driven off, but the effort produced a severe headache, which continued during the remaining days. On Thursday, he felt drowsy, but was so excited that he would sit down without napping. Every hour the circuiting the room forty-two times was regularly performed, in times ranging from twenty to thirty minutes. On that morning he began to be discouraged, and expressed a wish to abandon further effort. His advisers persuaded him, and he renewed his efforts, and, as he expressed it, with a determined *will* to succeed.

Friday, the third day, he was more wakeful, his nervous excitement having increased—probably by the strong tea, which was his only beverage. His head was bandaged, and bathed with rum and alum frequently. He stumbled from weakness and weariness, but got up without help. Saturday, the fourth and last day, was one of weariness, aching limbs, aching head, and prostration. He required to be supported as he went his hourly rounds. In the ninety-fifth hour he fainted and fell. Every hour of the last four he was bathed all over with rum and alum. In the ninety-ninth hour he again fell in faintness. The last hour at length arrived, and with his assistants he completed his forty-two circuits in thirty-three minutes. He now received fresh energy from the idea that he had accomplished his feat, and unaided he literally dragged his limbs once more around the hall, to show that he was still awake, and amid the cheers of a large audience, he retired after nine o'clock.

In an hour's time he was at his home, and on his pillow, no doubt like Sancho Panza, "blessing the man who first invented sleep." But for him sound sleep was not safe. His medical attendant, Dr. Perry, was with him through the night, awaking him every hour. He was under so strong nervous excitement, that he at times had to be held in bed by his attendants. His dreams were fearful—of more miles to travel, and that his bandages were lost, and that his bathing materials had given out. This was evident by his exclamations. On Monday morning he was better; but he has not yet got rid of the swelling of his limbs, of weariness in his back, and of his headache. He took his meals regularly during the four days, and such doses as the doctors prepared.

Mr. S. tells us that he went to the extent of human endurance—he has no idea that he could have sustained himself three hours longer. Although he realizes five hundred dollars on the bet, and two hundred and eighty dollars as admission fees, yet ten times that amount would not induce him again to make a like effort.

A like feat was performed in California a few years since. In Baltimore it was attempted by a man who died in the ninety-seventh hour.—*Portsmouth (N. H.) Journal.*

If records of great triumphs inspire other laborers with courage, records of hopes long deferred and often frustrated tend to arm the mind against despondency and disheartening feelings. Ought not this effect to be produced on all Alliance workers, when they read the list of reverses—sometimes all the harder to bear when succeeding partial successes—endured by the band of men who wished the Legislature to put the brand of illegality on the traffic in human flesh? Some anonymous student of "Hansard" has disinterred the following facts, and published them in the Durham *Chronicle*, "to afford encouragement to all who are engaged in similar contests":

1789—May 12, Mr. Wilberforce made his first motion for the abolition of the slave trade. It was opposed, and the consideration of it was deferred till next session.
1790—The matter again brought up.
1791—Commons: Motion *lost*—163 to 88 (majority against, 75).
1792—Commons: Motion to abolish in 1796, *carried*—230 to 85 (majority for, 145).
1793—Feb. 26. Motion in Commons rejected—61 to 53 (majority against, 8).
1793—April 11. Opposition in Lords.
1794—Feb. 7. Commons: Leave granted to bring in a bill—56 to 38.
1794—Feb. 7. Lords: "This day three months"—74 to 70 (majority against, 4).
1795—Feb. 26. Commons: Motion to "read this day six months," carried—78 to 61 (majority against, 17).
1796—Feb. 2. Commons: First reading by majority of 26.
1796—March 3. Second reading carried—63 to 31 (majority for, 32).
1796—March 3. Third reading lost—34 to 70 (majority against, 36).
1797—May 15. Commons: Motion rejected—82 to 74 (majority against, 8).
1798—April 3. Motion lost—87 to 83 (majority against, 4).
1798—May 4. Motion by Mr. Henry Thornton deferred till next session.
1799—March 1. Commons: Motion lost—84 to 54 (majority against, 30).
1799—July 5. Lords: Slave Trade Limitation Bill lost—(27 to 32.)
1801—Motion not made—House unfavorable.
1802—June 3. Motion made.
1802—June 14. Motion withdrawn "for this year."
1803—Motion not made.
1804—May 30. Commons: First reading, 124 to 49 (majority for, 75).
1804—June 7. Second reading—102 to 44 (majority for, 58).
1804—June 12. Passed committee.
1804—June 27. Third reading—99 to 33 (majority for, 66.)
1804—June 28. Bill brought up to Lords. "Too late in the session."
1804—July 2. Second reading in Lords, dropped without a division. In the course of the debate, the Bishop of St. Asaph said, quoting a Latin author, "The greatest source of ruin to nations is the want of will to do simple justice."
1805—Feb. 19. Bill read first time.
1805—Feb. 28. Second reading lost—77 to 70 (majority against, 7).
1806—May 10. Foreign Slave Bill carried.
1806—June 21. Mr. Fox's resolutions against slave trade carried in Commons—100 to 14; in Lords 42 to 21.
1807—Jan. 10. Lords: Lord Grenville brought in bill.
1807—Feb. 5. Lords: Second reading—100 to 34 (majority, 66).
1807—Feb. 10. Lords: Bill read third time and passed.
1807—Feb. 23. Commons: Second reading—283 to 16 (majority, 267).
1807—March 16. Commons: Third reading.
1807—March 18. Lords: Bill brought up.
1807—March 22. Lords: Third reading carried.
1807—March 25. Received Royal assent.

This was eighteen years after the question was first brought up and discussed in Parliament, and during the greater part of this period both the great Parliamentary chiefs, Pitt and Fox, were supporters of the measure. Most noticeable is it that in the very year after it had been lost on the second reading, it was carried by a sudden rise and rush of votes, influenced by the strong outside agitation.

The Duke of Wellington and Father Mathew.—Even the Great Duke was attracted into paying a sort of homage to the temperance leader. Some years after their meeting in London, Father Mathew was applied to by a poor widow, whose son, her sole support, had enlisted, under the influence of drink. "Father Mathew's exchequer," says Mr. Maguire, "was at its lowest ebb at this time—it was in 1847; so that, between the mother's lamentations for her 'darlin' boy, who was the comfort of her ould heart, and the light of her two eyes,' and his own empty pocket, the priest knew not what to do. At last the idea of appealing to the Great Duke flashed on his bewildered mind. He did so on the impulse of the moment, and met with a prompt result; for the noble Duke thus replied by return of post: 'F. M. the Duke of Wellington presents his compliments to the Very Rev. Mr. Mathew; he could not refuse his application, and has directed the discharge of the soldier he desired.'"

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WILL CURE

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Resulting from any cause whatsoever.

H

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INDUCED BY

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EXPOSURE,

FEVERS,

OR

DISEASES OF CAMP LIFE.

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will find this Bitters a pure Tonic, not dependent on bad liquors for their almost miraculous effects.

O

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AND DISEASES RESULTING FROM DISORDERS OF THE LIVER AND DIGESTIVE ORGANS,

ARE CURED BY

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This Bitters has performed more cures, gives better satisfaction, has more testimony, has more respectable people to vouch for it, than any other article in the market

O

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HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BITTERS,

WILL CURE EVERY CASE OF

CHRONIC OR NERVOUS DEBILITY

AND

DISEASES OF THE KIDNEYS.

F

Observe the following Symptoms resulting from Disorders of the Digestive Organs:

Constipation, Inward Piles, Fulness of Blood to the Head, Acidity of the Stomach, Nausea, Heartburn, Disgust for Food, Fulness or Weight in the Stomach, Sour Eructations, Sinking or Fluttering at the Pit of the Stomach, Swimming of the Head, Hurried and Difficult Breathing, Fluttering at the Heart, Choking or Suffocating Sensations when in a lying posture, Dimness of Vision, Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever and Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of Perspiration, Yellowness of the Skin and eyes, Pain in the Side, Back, Chest, Limbs, etc., Sudden Flushes of Heat, Burning in the Flesh, Constant Imaginings of Evil, Great Depression of Spirits.

L

REMEMBER,

that this Bitters is not Alcoholic, contains no Rum or Whiskey, and cannot make Drunkards, but is the Best Tonic in the World.

READ WHO SAYS SO.

* * * * * * * *

[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, Phil.]

Gentlemen: I have recently been laboring under the distressing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a prostration of the nervous system. Numerous remedies were recommended by friends, and some of them tested, but without relief. Your Hoofland's German Bitters were recommended by persons who had tried them, and whose favorable mention of these Bitters induced me to try them. I must confess that I had an aversion to Patent Medicines from the "thousand and one" quack "Bitters," whose only aim seems to be to palm off sweetened and drugged liquor upon the community in a sly way, and the tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a confirmed drunkard. Upon learning that yours was really a medicinal preparation, I took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only upon the stomach, but upon the nervous system, was prompt and gratifying. I find that I have derived great and permanent benefit from the use of a few bottles.

Very respectfully yours,
W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A

[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]

I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.

Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]

From the many respectable recommendations given to Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to give them a trial After using several bottles I found them to be a good remedy for debility, and a most excellent tonic for the stomach.

D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]

Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.

Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,
966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N

[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]

I have been frequently requested to connect my name with commendations of different kinds of medicines, but regarding the practice as out of my appropriate sphere, I have in all cases declined; but with a clear proof in various instances, and particularly in my own family, of the usefulness of Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I depart for once from my usual course, to express my full conviction that, *for general debility of the system, and especially for Liver Complaint, it is a safe and valuable preparation.* In some cases it may fail; but usually, I doubt not, it will be very beneficial to those who suffer from the above causes.

Yours, very respectfully,
J. H. KENNARD, Eighth, below Coates st.
Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864.

Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Reformed Church, Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dyspepsia of twenty years' standing.

A. M. Spangler, Editor of the *Culturist*, No. 23 North Sixth st., Philadelphia, says this Bitters was recommended to him by a medical friend, and six bottles cured him of complete prostration of the nervous system.

Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge and *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.;

Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxborough Baptist Church;

Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Pemberton, N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Church, Phil., at present Pastor of the Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.

These gentlemen express, in the strongest terms, their favorable opinion of these Bitters.

D

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